Bishop BURNET'S HISTORY of his own time.

VOL. VI.

CONTAINING,

The Reign of Q. ANNE from the year 1708. to the Concluſion of the Peace, in 1713.
The Authors Concluſion to his Hiſtory.
The Life of *Biſhop* BURNET, by the Editor.

LONDON,
Printed for the COMPANY.
M. DCC. XXXIV.

Bishop BURNET'S

HISTORY

of his own time.

VOL. VI.

CONTAINING,

The Reign of QUEEN ANNE from the year 1708.
to the Conclusion of the Peace, in 1713.
The Author's Character of his History.
The Life of Bishop Burnet, by the Editor.

LONDON,
Printed for the COMPANY.
M. DCC. XXXIV.

TABLE
OF THE
CONTENTS
OF THE
SIXTH VOLUME

Continuation of BOOK VII.

THE New Parliament opened Page 1025

1709

Debates concerning the Election of Scotch *Peers* 1027
A Scotch *Peer created a Peer of* Great Britain, *is to have no vote in the Scotch Election* 1028
Other exceptions were determined 1029
A Faction amongst the Scots 1030
An Act concerning Trials of Treason in Scotland, *and on what occasion* 1031
The heads of that Act 1033
The forms of proceeding in Scotland 1034
Of the Forfeitures in Cases of Treason 1037
Amendments to the Act 1038

It paſt in both Houſes 1040
An Act of Grace ibid.
An enlargement of the Fund of the Bank 1041
Great riches come to Portugal *from* America 1042
An Act for a general naturalization of all foreign Proteſtants ibid.
An Addreſs to the Queen concerning the Terms on which a Peace might be made 1043
The Convocation prorogued 1044
A Faction amongſt the Clergy in Ireland ibid.
An ill-temper amongſt the Engliſh *Clergy* 1045
Negotiations for Peace 1046
Lord Townſhend *ſent to* Holland 1048
The Preliminaries agreed upon 1048
The King of France *refuſes to ratify them* 1050
The War went on 1054
In Portugal ibid.
In Spain 1055
In Dauphiny ibid.
In Germany ibid.
And in Flanders 1056
Tournay *is beſieged and taken* ibid.
The Battle of Blareignies *or* Malplaquet 1058
Mons *is beſiegd and taken* ibid.
Affairs in Italy 1059
Affairs in Spain ibid.
The King of Sweden's *Defeat at* Pultowa 1060
He flies into Turky ibid.
His Character by Dr. Robinſon 1062
Affairs in Denmark 1064
Our Fleet well conducted 1065
A Seſſion of Parliament 1066
Sacheverell's *Sermon* 1067
Many Books wrote againſt the Queen's Title 1068

Dr.

CONTENTS.

1710.

Dr. Hoadly's *Writings in Defence of it* 1069
Sacheverell *was impeached by the Houſe of Commons* 1070
And tried in Weſtminſter-hall 1072
Great Diſorders at that time 1076
The Continuation of the Trial 1077
Sir John Holt's *Death and Character* 1078
Parker *made Lord Chief Juſtice* ibid.
Debates in the Houſe of Lords after the Trial ibid.
Sacheverel *is cenſured very gently* 1081
Addreſſes againſt the Parliament 1082
The Queen's Speech at the end of the Seſſion 1083
The Duke of Shrewsbury *made Lord Chamberlain* 1084
The Author's free Diſcourſe to the Queen 1085
Affairs in Flanders 1087
Doway *is beſieged and taken* 1088
The Hiſtory continued to the Peace ibid.
Negotiations for a Peace 1089
The Conferences at Gertruydenberg 1093
All came to no concluſion 1095
A change of the Miniſtry in England 1096
Sacheverell's *progreſs into* Wales 1097
The Conduct in Elections to Parliament 1099
A ſinking of Publick Credit 1100
The Affairs in Spain 1101
The Battle of Almenara ibid.
King Charles *is at* Madrid 1102
The Battle of Villa Vicioſa 1103
The Diſgrace of the Duke of Medina Celi 1104
Bethune *and* Aire *taken in* Flanders 1105
Affairs in the North ibid.
The new Parliament opened 1106

TABLE OF THE

1711

The Conduct in Spain *cenſured by the Lords* 1107
Reflections made on it 1112
The ſtrange Way of proceeding therein 1114
Some Abuſes in the Navy cenſured by the Houſe of Commons 1115
Supplies given for the War 1116
The Duke of Marlborough *commands the Army in* Flanders 1117
Complaints of the Favour ſhewn the Palatines 1118
A Bill to repeal the general Naturalization Act, is rejected by the Lords 1120
A Bill for qualifying Members paſſed ibid.
An Act for importing French *Wine* 1121
An Attempt on Harley *by* Guiſcard 1122
A Deſign againſt King William's *Grants miſcarries* 1124
Inquiries into the Publick Accounts 1125
The Dauphin *and the Emperor's Death* 1127
War breaking out between the Turk *and the* Czar ibid.
The Convocation met 1129
Exceptions to the Licence ſent them ibid.
A new Licence 1130
A Repreſentation of the Lower Houſe 1131
Whiſton *revives* Arianiſme 1132
Different opinions of the Judges, as to the power of the Convocation 1134
Whiſton's *Doctrines condemned* 1135
An Act for the South-Sea *Trade* 1136
Reflections on the old Miniſtry cleared 1137
Affairs in Spain 1138
King Charles *is elected Emperor* 1140
The Duke of Marlborough *paſſed the* French *Lines* 1141
He beſieged Bouchain, *and took it* 1143
An Expedition by Sea to Canada 1144

It

CONTENTS.

It miscarries 1145
Affairs in Turky 1146
And in Pomerania 1147
Harley *made an Earl, and Lord Treasurer* 1148
Negotiations for a Peace with France 1149
Preliminaries offered by France 1150
Count Gallas *sent away in Disgrace* 1150
Earl of Strafford *sent Ambassador to* Holland 1151
Many Libels against the Allies ibid.
Earl Rivers *sent to* Hanover, *but without success* 1152
The States *are forced to open a Treaty* 1153
Endeavours used by the Court before they opened the Parliament 1154
The Queen's Speech, and Reflections on it 1155
The Earl of Nottingham *moved, that no Peace could be safe, unless* Spain *and the* West-Indies *were taken from the House of* Bourbon 1156
His motion agreed to by the Lords in their Address to the Queen 1157
The Queen's Answer 1158
A Bill against Occasional Conformity ibid.
Past without opposition 1160
Duke Hamilton's *Patent as a* British *Peer* 1161
Examined, and judged against him 1163
The Lords Address that our Allies may be carried along with us in the Treaty 1164
Pretended discoveries of Bribery ibid.
The Duke of Marlborough *aimed at* 1165
He is turned out of all his Employments 1166
Twelve new Peers made ibid.

1712

The Queen's message to the Lords to adjourn, is disputed but obeyed 1167
Prince Eugene *came to* England 1168
His Character ibid.

A meſſage from the Queen to both Houſes 1169
A Bill giving precedence to the Houſe of Hanover 1170
A Debate concerning the Scotch *Peers* 1171
Walpole's *Caſe and Cenſure* 1172
The Cenſure put on the Duke of Marlborough 1173
Many Libels wrote againſt him 1174
His innocence appeared evidently 1175
The Scotch *Lords put in good hopes* 1176
A Toleration of the Engliſh *Liturgy in* Scotland
Deſigns to provoke the Presbyterians there 1178
Patronages are reſtored 1179
The Barrier Treaty ibid.
It was complained of 1182
And condemned by the Houſe of Commons 1183
The States *juſtify themſelves* 1185
The ſelf-denying Bill is thrown out 1186
The Treaty at Utrecht *opened* ibid.
The death of the two Dauphins 1188
The Character of the Dauphin 1189
An indignation in both Houſes at the French *Propoſals* 1190
The demands of the Allies 1191
Preparations for the Campaign 1192
The Pretender's *Siſter died* ibid.
Proceedings in the Convocation 1193
The Cenſure on Whiſton's *Book not confirmed by the Queen* 1194
An inclination in ſome of the Clergy towards Popery 1195
Dodwell's *Notions* 1196
The Biſhops condemn the rebaptizing Diſſenters 1198
But the Lower Houſe would not agree with them ibid.
Great Supplies given for the War ibid.
The Duke of Ormond *ordered not to act offenſively* 1200

CONTENTS.

A separate Peace disowned by the Lord Treasurer 1201
The Queen, by the Bishop of Bristol, *declares she is free from all Engagements with the* States 1202
The Queen laid the Plan of the Peace before the Parliament 1203
Addresses of both Houses upon it 1204
The end of the Session of Parliament 1206
The Duke of Ormond *proclaims a Cessation of Arms, and leaves Prince* Eugene's *Army* ibid.
Quesnoy *is taken* 1207
Landrecy *besieged* 1209
A great loss at Denain *brought a reverse on the Campaign* ibid.
Distractions at the Hague 1210
The renunciations of the Succession in Spain *and* France 1211
Duke Hamilton *and Lord* Mohun *killed in a Combat* 1212
The Duke of Shrewsbury *is sent to* France; *and Duke* d'Aumont *comes to* England 1213
The Affairs in the North 1214
The Emperor prepares for the War with France ibid.
A new Barrier Treaty with the States 1215
The Earl of Godolphin's *Death and Character* 1216
The Duke of Marlborough *went to live beyond Sea* ibid.
We possess Dunkirk *in a precarious manner* 1218
The Barrier Treaty signed 1219
Seven Prorogations of Parliament ibid.
Affairs of Sweden 1220

1713

The King of Prussia's *Death* 1220
The King of Sweden's *Misfortunes* 1221
The Treaties of Peace signed, and the Session of Par-

Parliament opened 1222
The ſubſtance of the Treaties of Peace and of Commerce 1224
Aids given by the Commons 1229
The Scots *oppoſe their being charged with the Duty on Malt* ibid.
And move to have the Union diſſolved 1230
A Bill for rendring the Treaty of Commerce with France *effectual* 1231
A Speech prepared by the Author, when the approbation of the Peace came to be moved in the Houſe of Lords 1234
A demand for mortgaging part of the Civil Liſt 1243
Reaſons againſt it 1244
But it was granted ibid.
An Addreſs of both Houſes, that the Pretender *be removed from* Lorrain 1245
The Death of ſome Biſhops 1246
The Queen's Speech at the end of the Seſſion 1247

The CONCLUSION.

MY *zeal for the Church of* England 1252
The Doctrine. ibid.
The Worſhip 1253
And Diſcipline ibid.
My zeal againſt Separation 1255
And tenderneſs towards ſcrupulous Conſciences 1256
My zeal againſt Perſecution 1258
My thoughts concerning the Clergy 1259
An inward vocation 1260
The function of the Clergy 1262
My Advice to the Biſhops 1267
An expedient concerning Ordinations 1271
The Duties of a Biſhop ibid.

Their

CONTENTS.

Their abstraction from Courts and Intrigues 1273
Concerning Patrons 1274
Non Residence and Pluralities 1276
Concerning the body of the People 1277
Of the Gentry 1280
Of the danger of losing Publick Liberty 1281
Errors in Education 1286
And in Marriages 1288
Of Trade and Industry ibid.
Of the Stage 1289
Of gaming 1290
Of educating the Female Sex ibid.
Of the Nobility ibid.
Of their Education 1291
Of their Chaplains 1293
Concerning the Two Houses of Parliament 1296
Of Elections ibid.
Of the Parties of Whig *and* Tory 1297
The correction of our Laws 1300
Provision for the Poor 1301
Of shorter Sessions of Parliament 1303
An Address to our Princes 1304
An Exhortation to all to become truly religious 1315

The AUTHOR's LIFE.

His Birth and Parentage 1324
His Education 1326
He is admitted into the Church 1328
Refuses a Presentation to a Living 1329
His Father's Death, and his further pursuit of his Studies ibid.
His first Journey to England 1332
Delays accepting a good Benefice 1333
His Travels into Holland *and* France 1334

Is

Is settled Minister at Saltoun. *His Conduct there* 1335
Much consulted by the Ministry in Scotland 1333
Is made Professor of Divinity at Glascow Ibid.
His conduct in that station 1339
Undertakes to write Memoirs of the two Dukes of *Hamilton* 1341
Refuses a Bishoprick in Scotland 1324.
His Marriage with Lady Margaret Kennedy ibid.
Refuses a Bishoprick, with the promise of the first Archbishoprick vacant in Scotland 1343
His favour at Court ibid.
His breach with Duke Lauderdale 1345
He is forced to quit his Professorship at Glascow 1346
Refuses a good Benefice at London 1347
Is made Chaplain at the Rolls, *and Lecturer at St.* Clements 1348
Writes the History of the Reformation 1349
His Conversion of Wilmot *Earl of* Rochester 1350
Refuses the Bishoprick of Chichester ibid.
His Letter to King Charles II. 1351
His firm adherence to his Friends 1358
Refuses a Living on the terms of not residing 1361
How he avoided being involved in Plots ibid.
He is dismiss'd from his Lecture, and from the Rolls 1363
His Travels beyond Sea ibid.
He is well received by the Prince and Princess of Orange 1365
King James *insists on his being forbid that Court* 1366
He is prosecuted in Scotland *and in* England *for High Treason* 1367
The States *refuse to deliver him up* 1688
Designs to seize or murder him ibid.
His Marriage to Mrs. Mary Scott 1369

His

CONTENTS.

His Conduct at the Revolution 1370
Declines the offer of the Biſhoprick of Durham 1371
Is made Biſhop of Salisbury 1372
His Services to , and Correſpondence with the Houſe of Hanover 1373
His Character as to Party Matters 1378
His Labours in his Dioceſe, and in the Epiſcopal Function 1390
His Univerſal Principle of Toleration extends to Nonjurors 1395
His Scheme for augmenting poor Livings in his own Dioceſe 1402
His ſcheme for augmenting all the poor Livings in England 1404
The Death of Queen Mary, *and of Archbiſhop* Tillotſon 1409
He is one of the Eccleſiaſtical Commiſſion to recommend to Church Preferments 1410
Is made Preceptor to the Duke of Gloceſter 1411
Which he endeavours to decline ibid.
His Marriage with Mrs. Berkley 1416
He writes an Expoſition of the Thirty nine Articles of the Church of *England* 1417
His Diligence in his Calling whilſt in London 1420
Writes a Third Volume, *as a Supplement to the* Hiſtory of the Reformation 1421
His Domeſtick Character 1422
His Time how employed ibid.
An affectionate Husband 1423
His care of his Childrens Education ibid.
His firmneſs in his Friendſhips 1424
His Conduct to thoſe in Employment under him 1325
His Charities ibid.
His Care of the Revenue of the See 1427
His Death ibid.
His Character by the late Marquiſs of Halifax 1429
A Liſt of his Works 1432

Cor-

Corrections for VOL. VI.

Pag. 1057. *l.* 27. & 28. *read* De-ſigns
p. 1068. *l.* 31. *read* could not
p. 1187. *l.* 23. *for* nocice *read* notice
p. 1228. *l.* 13. *read* concerning
p. 1245. *in margine*, l. 4. *read* to get
p. 1250. *l.* 5. *for* ſcare *read* ſcarce
p. 1314. *l.* 30. *for* not, to *read* not to
p. 1315. l. 30. *for* deſtation *r.* deteſtation
p. 1317. *l.* 31. *for* eſpect *read* reſpect
p. 1319. *l.* 9. *read* effectual of
p. 1350. *l.* 4. *read* he wrote
p. 1376. l. 21 for PALATINE *read* PALATINA
p. 1396. l. 28. *for* ao *read* to
p. 1403. l. 8. *for* theſes *read* theſe

BRITISH MUSEUM 6 JA 76

THE

THE HISTORY OF MY OWN TIMES.

CONTINUATION of BOOK VII.

& of the Reign of Q. ANNE.

THE Parliament was opened in the middle of *November*, with great advantage; for the preſent Miniſtry was now wholly ſuch, that it gave an entiere content, to all who wiſhed well to our Affairs: And the great ſucceſſes abroad, ſilenced thoſe who were otherwiſe diſpoſed to find fault, and to complain. The Queen did not think it decent for her to come to Parliament, during this whole Seſſion; So it was managed by a Commiſſion repreſenting her Perſon, Sir *Richard Onſlow* was choſen

1708.

A new Parliament opened.

1708. Speaker, without the leaſt oppoſition: He was a worthy Man, entirely zealous for the Government; he was very acceptable to the Whigs, and the Tories felt that they had ſo little ſtrength in this Parliament, that they reſolved to lie ſilent, and to wait for ſuch advantages, as the Circumſtances of Affairs might give them. In the Houſe of Commons, the Supplies that were demanded, were granted very unanimouſly, not only for maintaining the Force then on foot, but for an augmentation of 10000 more: This was thought neceſſary to preſs the War with more force, as the ſureſt way to bring on a ſpeedy Peace: The *States* agreed to the like augmentation on their ſide. The *French*, according to their uſual vanity, gave out, that they had great Deſigns in view for the next Campaign: And it was confidently ſpread about by the *Jacobites*, that a new Invaſion was deſigned, both on *Scotland*, and on *Ireland*. At the end of the Campaign, Prince *Eugene* went to the Court of *Vienna*, which obliged the Duke of *Marlborough* to ſtay on the other ſide, till he returned. Things went on in both Houſes, according to the directions given at Court, for the Court being now joined with the Whigs, they had a clear majority in every thing: All Elections were judged in favour of Whigs and Courtiers; but with ſo much partiality, that thoſe, who had formerly made loud complaints of the injuſtice of the Tories, in determining

termining Elections, when they were a majority, were not ſo much as out of countenance, when they were reproached for the ſame thing: They pretended, they were in a ſtate of War with the Tories, ſo that it was reaſonable to retaliate this to them, on the account of their former proceedings: But this did not ſatisfy juſt and upright Men, who would not do to others, that which they had complained of, when it was done to them, or to their Friends. The Houſe of Commons voted a Supply of ſeven Millions, for the ſervice of the enſuing Year; the Land-Tax and the Duty on Malt, were readily agreed to: But it took ſome time to find a Fund for the reſt, that they had voted. 1708.

A Petition, of a new nature, was brought before the Lords with relation to the Election of the Peers from *Scotland*: There was a Return made in due form, but a Petition was laid before the Houſe in the name of four Lords, who pretended that they ought to have been returned: The Duke of *Queensberry* had been created a Duke of *Great Britain*, by the Title of Duke of *Dover*, yet he thought he had ſtill a right to vote as a Peer of *Scotland*: He had likewiſe a Proxy, ſo that two Votes depended on this point, whether the *Scotch* Peerage did ſink into the Peerage of *Great Britain*. Some Lords, who were Priſoners in the Caſtle of *Edinburgh* on ſuſpicion, as favour- 1709.

Debates concerning the Elections of the Peers of *Scotland*

1709. ing the Pretender, had ſent for the Sheriff of *Lothian* to the Caſtle, and had taken the Oaths before him; and upon that, were reckoned to be qualified to vote or make a Proxy; now it was pretended, that the Caſtle of *Edinburgh* was a Conſtabulatory, and was out of the Sheriff's Juriſdiction; and that therefore, he could not legally tender them the Oaths: Some Proxies were ſigned, without ſubſcribing Witneſſes, a Form neceſſary by their Law: Other exceptions were alſo taken, from ſome Rules of the Law of *Scotland*, which had not been obſerved. The Clerks being alſo complained of, they were ſent for, and were ordered to bring up with them all inſtruments or documents relating to the Election: When they came up, and every thing was laid before the Houſe of Lords the whole matter was long and well debated.

A Scottiſh Peer created a Peer of Great Britain was to have no Vote there.

As to the Duke of *Queensberry's* voting among the *Scotch* Lords, it was ſaid, that if a Peer of *Scotland*, being made a Peer of *Great Britain*, did ſtill retain his intereſt in electing the Sixteen from *Scotland*, this would create a great inequality among Peers; ſome having a Vote by Repreſentation, as well as in Perſon: The Precedent was miſchievous, ſince by the creating ſome of the chief Families in *Scotland*, Peers of *Great Britain*, they would be able to carry the whole Election of the Sixteen, as they pleaſed. It was objected, that by a Clauſe

Clauſe in the Act paſſed ſince the Union, the Peers of *England* (who were likewiſe Peers of *Scotland*) had a right to vote, in the Election of *Scotland*, ſtill reſerved to them, ſo there ſeemed to be a parity in this caſe with that: But it was anſwered, that a Peer of *England* and a Peer of *Scotland* held their Dignity under two different Crowns, and by two different Great Seals: But *Great Britain*, including *Scotland* as well as *England*, the *Scotch* Peerage muſt now merge in that of *Great Britain*: Beſides, that there were but five, who were Peers of both Kingdoms before the Union; ſo that, as it might be reaſonable to make proviſion for them, ſo it was of no great conſequence, but if this Precedent were allowed, it might go much further: and have very ill conſequences. Upon a diviſion of the Houſe, the matter was determined againſt the Duke of *Queensberry*. 1709.

A great deal was ſaid both at the Bar by Lawyers, and in the Debate in the Houſe, upon the point of Juriſdiction, and of the Exemption of a Conſtabulatory: It was ſaid, that the Sheriffs Court ought to be, as all Courts were, open and free; and ſo could not be held within a Caſtle or Priſon: But no expreſs deciſion had ever been made in this matter. The Priſoners had taken the Oaths, which was the chief intent of the Law, in the beſt manner they could; ſo that it ſeemed not reaſonable to cut them off from the main

Other Exceptions were determined.

1709. Privilege of Peerage, that was reſerved to them, becauſe they could not go abroad to the Sheriffs Court: After a long debate, it was carried, that the Oaths were duly tendred to them. Some other exceptions were proved and admitted, the Returns of ſome, certifying that they had taken the Oaths, were not ſealed, and ſome had ſigned theſe, without ſubſcribing Witneſſes: other exceptions were offered from Proviſions, the Law of *Scotland* had made, with relation to Bonds and other Deeds, which had not been obſerved in making of Proxies: But the Houſe of Lords did not think theſe were of that importance, as to vacate the Proxies on that account. So, after a full hearing, and a Debate that laſted many days, there was but one of the Peers, that was returned, who was found not duly elected, and only one of the petitioning Lords was brought into the Houſe; the Marqueſs of *Annandale* was received, and the Marqueſs of *Lothian* was ſet aſide.

A Faction among the *Scots*.

The *Scotch* Members in both Houſes were divided into Factions: The Duke of *Queensberry* had his Party, ſtill depending on him: He was in ſuch credit with the Lord Treaſurer and the Queen, that all the Poſts in *Scotland* were given to Perſons recommended by him: The chief Miniſters at Court ſeemed to have laid it down for a maxim, not to be departed from, to look carefully to Elections in *Scotland*; that the Mem-

Members returned from thence, might be in an entire dependance on them, and be either Whigs or Tories, as they ſhould ſhift ſides. The Duke of *Queensberry* was made third Secretary of State; he had no foreign Province aſſigned him, but *Scotland* was left to his management: The Dukes of *Hamilton*, *Montroſs*, and *Roxburgh*, had ſet themſelves in an oppoſition to his power, and had carried many Elections againſt him: The Lords *Somers* and *Sunderland* ſupported them, but could not prevail with the Lord Treaſurer, to bring them into an equal ſhare of the Adminiſtration; this had almoſt occaſioned a breach; for the Whigs, tho' they went on in a conjunction with the Lord Treaſurer, yet continued ſtill to be jealous of him. 1709.

An Act concerning Trials of Treaſon in *Scotland*.

Another Act was brought on and paſſed in this Seſſion, with relation to *Scotland*, which gave occaſion to great and long debates; what gave riſe to it was this: Upon the Attempt made by the Pretender, many of the Nobility and Gentry of *Scotland*, who had all along adhered to that intereſt, were ſecured; and after the Fleet was got back to *Dunkirk*, and the danger was over, they were ordered to be brought up Priſoners to *London*: When they came, there was no Evidence at all againſt them, ſo they were diſmiſſed, and ſent back to *Scotland*. No exceptions could be taken to the ſecuring them, while there was danger; But ſince nothing beſides preſumptions lay

1709. againſt them, the bringing them up to *London*, at ſuch a charge, and under ſuch a diſgrace, was much cenſured, as an unreaſonable and an unjuſt ſeverity; and was made uſe of, to give that Nation a further averſion to the Union. That whole matter was managed by the *Scotch* Lords then in the Miniſtry, by which they both revenged themſelves on ſome of their Enemies, and made a ſhew of Zeal for the Government; tho' ſuch as did not believe them ſincere in theſe Profeſſions, thought it was done on deſign to exaſperate the *Scots* the more, and ſo to diſpoſe them to wiſh for another Invaſion. The Whig Miniſtry in *England* diſowned all theſe proceedings, and uſed the *Scots* Priſoners ſo well, that they went down much inclined to concur with them: But the Lord *Godolphin* fatally adhered to the *Scotch* Miniſters, and ſupported them, by which the advantage that might have been made from theſe ſevere proceedings was loſt: But the chief occaſion given, to the Act concerning Treaſons in *Scotland*, was from a Trial of ſome Gentlemen of that Kingdom, who had left their houſes, when the Pretender was on the Sea, and had gone about armed, and in ſo ſecret and ſuſpicious a manner, that it gave great cauſe of jealouſy: There was no clear Evidence to convict them, but there were very ſtrong, if not violent preſumptions againſt them: Some Forms in the Trial had not been obſerved, which the criminal Court

Court judged were neceſſary, and not to be diſpenſed with. But the Queen's Advocate Sir *James Stuart* was of another mind: The Court thought it was neceſſary by their Laws, that the Names of the Witneſſes ſhould have been ſignified to the Priſoners fifteen days before their Trial: But the Queen's Advocate had not complied with this, as to the chief Witneſſes; ſo the Court could not hear their Evidence: He did not upon that move for a Delay, ſo the Trial went on, and the Gentlemen were acquitted. Severe Expoſtulations paſſed between the Queen's Advocate and the Court; They complained of one another to the Queen, and both ſides juſtified their complaints in print. Upon this it appeared, that the Laws in *Scotland*, concerning Trials in Caſes of Treaſon, were not fixed nor certain: So a Bill was brought into the Houſe of Commons, to ſettle that matter; but it was ſo much oppoſed by the *Scotch* Members, that it was dropt in the Committee: It was taken up and managed with more zeal by the Lords. 1709.

It conſiſted of three Heads: All Crimes, which were High-Treaſon by the Law of *England* (and theſe only) were to be High-Treaſon in *Scotland*: The Manner of proceeding ſettled in *England* was to be obſerved in *Scotland*; and the Pains and Forfeitures were to be the ſame in both Nations. The *Scotch* Lords oppoſed every branch of this Act: They moved, that all things The Heads of the Act.

1709. that were High-Treason by the Law of *England*, might be enumerated in the Act, for the information of the *Scotch* Nation: Otherwise they must study the Book of Statutes, to know when they were safe, and when they were guilty. To this it was answered, that directions would be given to the Judges, to publish an Abstract of the Laws of High-Treason, which would be a sufficient information to the people of *Scotland*, in this matter: That Nation would by this means be in a much safer condition, than they were now; for the Laws they had, were conceived in such general words, that the Judges might put such constructions on them, as should serve the ends of a bad Court; but they would by this Act be restrained in this matter for the future.

The Forms of proceeding in *Scotland*.

The second head in this Bill occasioned a much longer debate: It changed the whole method of Proceedings in *Scotland*: The former way there was, the Queen's Advocate signed a Citation of the Persons, setting forth the special matter of High-Treason, of which they were accused; this was to be delivered to them, together with the names of the Witnesses, fifteen days before the Trial. When the Jury was empannelled, no peremptory challenges were allowed; Reasons were to be offered with every challenge, and if the Court admitted them, they were to be proved immediately. Then the matter of the Charge, which is there called the

the Relevancy of the Libel, was to be argued by Lawyers, whether the Matter, suppose it should be proved, did amount to High-Treason or not; this was to be determined by a Sentence of the Court, called the *Interloquitur*: And the proof of the Fact was not till then to be made: Of that the Jury had the cognizance. Antiently the Verdict went with the Majority, the number being fifteen; but by a late Act, the Verdict was to be given, upon the agreement of two third parts of the Jury: In the Sentence, the Law did not limit the Judges to a certain Form, but they could aggravate the punishment, or moderate it, according to the circumstances of the case. All this method was to be set aside: A Grand Jury was to find the Bill, the Judges were only to regulate Proceedings, and to declare what the Law was, and the whole matter of the Indictment was to be left intirely to the Jury, who were to be twelve, and all to agree in their Verdict. 1709.

In one particular, the Forms in *Scotland* were much preferable to those in *England*; the Depositions of the Witnesses were taken indeed by word of mouth, but were writ out, and after that were signed by the Witnesses; they were sent in to the Jury; and these were made a part of the Record. This was very slow and tedious, but the Jury, by this means, was more certainly possessed of the Evidence; and the matter was more clearly delivered down to Posterity: whereas the

1709. the Records in *England* are very defective, and give no light to a Hiſtorian, that peruſes them, as I found when I wrote the *Hiſtory of the Reformation.*

The *Scotch* oppoſed this alteration of their way of proceeding; they ſaid, that neither the Judges, the Advocates, nor the Clerks would know how to manage a Trial of Treaſon: They inſiſted moſt on the having the Names of the Witneſſes, to be given to the perſons, ſome days before their Trial: It ſeemed reaſonable, that a Man ſhould know who was to be brought to witneſs againſt him, that ſo he might examine his Life, and ſee what credit ought to be given to him: On the other hand it was ſaid, this would open a door to much practice, either upon the Witneſſes to corrupt them, or in ſuborning other Witneſſes, to defame them. To this it was anſwered, that a guilty Man knew what could be brought againſt him, and without ſuch notice would take all the methods poſſible to defend himſelf; But proviſion ought to be made for innocent Men, whoſe chief guilt might be a good Eſtate, upon which a Favourite might have an eye: And therefore ſuch Perſons ought to be taken care of. This was afterwards ſo much ſoftened, that it was only deſired, that the Names of the Witneſſes, that had given evidence to the Grand Jury ſhould, upon their finding the Bill, be ſignified to the Priſoner, five days before his Trial. Upon a diviſion of the Houſe on this Queſtion,

tion, the Votes were equal; ſo by the Rule of the Houſe, that in ſuch a caſe the Negative prevails, it was loſt. Upon the third head of the Bill, the Debates grew ſtill warmer: In *Scotland* many Families were ſettled by long Entails and Perpetuities; ſo it was ſaid, that ſince, by one of the Articles of the Union, all private Rights were ſtill preſerved, no breach could be made on theſe Settlements. I carried this farther: I thought it was neither juſt nor reaſonable to ſet the Children on begging, for their Father's faults: The *Romans*, during their Liberty, never thought of carrying puniſhments ſo far: It was an invention, under the Tyranny of the Emperors, who had a particular Revenue called the *Fiſc*, and all Forfeitures were claimed by them, from whence they were called Confiſcations: It was never the Practice of free Governments: *Bologna* flouriſhed beyond any Town in the Pope's Dominions, becauſe they made it an Article of their Capitulation with the Pope, that no Confiſcation ſhould follow on any Crime whatſoever. In *Holland* the Confiſcation was redeemable by ſo very ſmall a Sum, as an Hundred Guilders: Many Inſtances could be brought of proſecutions, only to obtain the Confiſcation: But none of the Lords ſeconded me in this; it was acknowledged, that this was juſt and reaſonable, and fit to be paſſed in good times, but ſince we were now expoſed to ſo much danger from abroad it did not ſeem adviſeable to abate the

1709.

Of the Forfeitures in Caſes of Treaſon.

1709. the ſeverity of the Law: But Clauſes were agreed to, by which, upon Marriages, Settlements might be made in *Scotland* as was practiſed in *England*; for no Eſtate is forfeited for the crime of him, who is only Tenant for Life. By this Act alſo, Tortures were condemned, and the Queen was empowered to grant Commiſſions of *Oyer* and *Terminer* as in *England*, for trying Treaſons. The *Scotch* inſiſted on this, that the Juſticiary or the Criminal Court being preſerved by an Article of the Union, this broke in upon that. It was anſwered, the Criminal Court was ſtill to ſit, in the times regulated; But theſe Commiſſions were granted upon ſpecial occaſions; In the intervals, between the Terms, it might be neceſſary upon ſome emergencies not to delay Trials too long: And to give ſome content, it was provided by a Clauſe, that a Judge of the Criminal Court ſhould be always one of the *Quorum*, in theſe Commiſſions: So the Bill paſſed in the Houſe of Lords, notwithſtanding the Oppoſition of all the *Scotb* Lords, with whom many of the Tories concurred; they being diſpoſed to oppoſe the Court in every thing, and to make Treaſon as little to be dreaded as poſſible.

Amendments to the Act.

The Bill met with the ſame oppoſition in the Houſe of Commons; yet it paſſed with two amendments: By one, the Names of the Witneſſes, that had appeared before the Grand Jury, were ordered to be ſent to the Pri-

Priſoner, ten days before his Trial: The other was that no Eſtate in Land was to be forfeited, upon a Judgment of High-Treaſon: This came up fully to the motion I had made. Both theſe amendments were looked on as ſuch popular things, that it was not probable, that the Houſe of Commons would recede from them: Upon that, the Whigs in the Houſe of Lords did not think fit to oppoſe them, or to loſe the Bill: So it was moved to agree to theſe amendments, with this proviſo, that they ſhould not take place till after the death of the *Pretender*: It was ſaid, that ſince he aſſumed the Title of King of *Great Britain*, and had ſo lately attempted to invade us, it was not reaſonable to leſſen the puniſhment, and the dread of Treaſon, as long as he lived. Others objected to this, that there would be ſtill a Pretender after him, ſince ſo many Perſons ſtood in the lineal deſcent before the Houſe of *Hanover*; ſo that this proviſo ſeemed to be, upon the matter, the rejecting the amendment: but it was obſerved, that to pretend to the Right of ſucceeding, was a different thing from aſſuming the Title, and attempting an invaſion. The amendment was received by the Houſe of Lords with this proviſo; thoſe who were againſt the whole Bill, did not agree to it. The Houſe of Commons conſented to the Proviſo, which the Lords had added to their Amendment, with a further addition, that it ſhould not take place till three years after the 1709.

Houſe

1709. House of *Hanover* should succeed to the Crown.

It passed in both Houses.

This met with great opposition, it was considered as a distinguishing Character of those, who were for or against the present Constitution, and the Succession; the *Scots* still opposing it on the account of their formal Laws: Both Parties mustered up their strength, and many, who had gone into the Country, were brought up on this occasion: So that the Bill, with all the Amendments and Proviso's was carried by a small majority; the Lords agreeing to this new amendment: The *Scotch* Members in both Houses seemed to apprehend, that the Bill would be very odious in their Country; so to maintain their Interest at home, they, who were divided in every thing else, did agree in opposing this Bill.

An Act of Grace.

The Court apprehended from the heat, with which the debates were managed, and the difficulty in carrying the Bill thro' both Houses, that ill-disposed Men would endeavour to possess people, with apprehensions of bad designs and severities, that would be set on foot; so they resolved to have an Act of Grace immediately upon it: It was the first the Queen had sent, tho' she had then reigned above seven years: The Ministers, for their own sake, took care that it should be very full; it was indeed fuller than any former Act of Grace, all Treasons committed before the signing the Act, which

which was the 19th of *April*, were pardoned, thoſe only excepted that were done upon the Sea: By this, thoſe who had imbarked with the Pretender were ſtill at mercy. This Act, according to form, was read once in both Houſes, and with the uſual complements of Thanks, and with that the Seſſion ended. 1709.

Other things of great importance paſſed during this Seſſion: The Houſe of Commons voted an Enlargment of the *Bank*, almoſt to three Millions, upon which, the Books were opened to receive new Subſcriptions: and to the admiration of all *Europe*, as well as of our ſelves at home, the whole ſum was ſubſcribed in a few hours time: This ſhewed both the wealth of the Nation, and the confidence that all people had in the Government. By this ſubſcription, and by a further prolongation of the general Mortgage of the Revenue, they created good Funds for anſwering all the Money, that they had voted in the beginning of the Seſſion. An enlargement of the Bank.

Our Trade was now very high; and was carried on every where with advantage, but no where more than at *Lisbon*: For the *Portugueze* were ſo happy, in their Dominions in *America*, that they diſcovered vaſt quantities of Gold in their Mines, and we were aſſured that they had brought home to *Portugal*, the former year, about four Milions *Sterling*, of which they, at that time, ſtood in gread need, for they had a very Great Riches in *Portugal*.

1709. bad Harveſt: But Gold anſwers all things: They were ſupplied from *England* with Corn, and we had in return a large ſhare of their Gold.

An Act for a General Naturalization of all Proteſtants.

An Act paſſed in this Seſſion, that was much deſired, and had been often attempted, but had been laid aſide in ſo many former Parliaments that there was ſcare any hopes left to encourage a new attempt: It was for naturalizing all foreign Proteſtants, upon their taking the Oaths to the Government, and receiving the Sacrament in any Proteſtant Church. Thoſe who were againſt the Act, ſoon perceived that they could have no ſtrength, if they ſhould ſet themſelves directly to oppoſe it; ſo they ſtudied to limit Strangers in the receiving the Sacrament, to the way of the Church of *England*. This probably would not have hindred many who were otherwiſe diſpoſed to come among us: For the much greater part of the *French* came into the way of our Church. But it was thought beſt to caſt the door as wide open as poſſible, for encouraging of Strangers: And therefore ſince, upon their firſt coming over, ſome might chuſe the way, to which they had been accuſtomed beyond Sea, it ſeemed the more inviting method to admit of all who were in any Proteſtant Communion. This was carried in the Houſe of Commons, with a great majority; but all thoſe, who appeared for this large and comprehenſive way, were reproached for their cold-

coldneſs and indifference in the concerns of the Church: And in that I had a large ſhare; as I ſpoke copiouſly for it, when it was brought up to the Lords: the Biſhop of *Cheſter* ſpoke as zealouſly againſt it, for he ſeemed reſolved to diſtinguiſh himſelf, as a Zealot for that which was called High-Church. The Bill paſſed with very little oppoſition. 1709.

An Addreſs to the Queen about a Treaty of Peace.

There was all this winter great talk of Peace; which the miſeries and Neceſſity of *France* ſeemed to drive them to: This gave occaſion to a motion, concerted among the Whigs, and opened by the Lord *Halifax*, that an addreſs ſhould be made to the Queen, to conclude no Peace with *France*, till they ſhould diſown the Pretender, and ſend him out of that Kingdom, and till the Proteſtant Succeſſion ſhould be univerſally owned, and that a Guaranty ſhould be ſettled among the Allies for ſecuring it. None durſt venture to oppoſe this, ſo it was eaſily agreed to, and ſent down to the Houſe of Commons, for their concurrence. They preſently agreed to it, but added to it, a matter of great importance, that the demoliſhing of *Dunkirk* ſhould be likewiſe inſiſted on, before any Peace were concluded: So both Houſes carried this Addreſs to the Queen, who received and anſwered it very favourably. This was highly acceptable to the whole Nation, and to all our Allies. Theſe were the moſt conſiderable tranſactions of this

1709. Seſſion of Parliament, which was concluded on the 21ſt of *April*.

The Convocation was put off by a Prorogation.

The Convocation was ſummoned, choſen, and returned as the Parliament was: But it was too evident, that the ſame ill temper, that had appeared in former Convocations, did ſtill prevail, tho' not with ſuch a majority: When the day came in which it was to be opened, a Writ was ſent from the Queen to the Archbiſhop, ordering him to prorogue the Convocation for ſome Months: and at the end of theſe, there came another Writ, ordering a further Prorogation: So the Convocation was not opened during this Seſſion of Parliament; by this, a preſent ſtop was put to the factious temper of thoſe, who ſtudied to recommend themſelves by embroiling the Church.

A Faction among the Clergy of *Ireland*.

It did not cure them; for they continued ſtill by Libels and falſe ſtories to animate their Party: and ſo catching a thing is this turbulent Spirit, when once it prevails among Clergymen, that the ſame ill temper began to ferment and ſpread it ſelf among the Clergy of *Ireland*: none of thoſe Diſputes had ever been thought of in that Church formerly, as they had no Records nor Minutes of former Convocations. The Faction here in *England* found out proper Inſtruments, to ſet the ſame humour on foot, during the Earl of *Rocheſter*'s Government, and, as was ſaid, by his directions: And it being once ſet a going, it went on by

BRITISH 6 JA 76 MUSEUM

by reaſon of the indolence of the ſucceeding Governours: So the Clergy were making the ſame bold claim there, that had raiſed ſuch diſputes among us; and upon that, the Party here publiſhed thoſe pretenſions of theirs, with their uſual confidence, as founded on a clear poſſeſſion and preſcription: And drew an argument from that, to juſtify and ſupport their own Pretenſions, tho' thoſe in *Ireland* had never dreamed of them, till they had the pattern and encouragement from hence. This was received by the Party with great Triumph: into ſuch indirect practices do Mens ill deſigns and animoſities engage them: But tho' this whole matter was well detected and made appear, to their ſhame, who had built ſo much upon it, yet Parties are never out of countenance; but when one artifice fails, they will lay out for another. The ſecret encouragement, with which they did moſt effectually animate their Party, was, that the Queen's Heart was with them: And that tho' the War, and the other circumſtances of her affairs, obliged her at preſent to favour the moderate Party, yet as ſoon as a Peace brought on a better ſettlement, they promiſed themſelves all favour at her hands. It was not certain, that they had then any ground for this, or that ſhe herſelf, or any by her order, gave them theſe hopes; but this is certain, that many things might have been done to extinguiſh thoſe hopes,

1709.

An ill Temper among our Clergy ſtill kept up.

1709. which were not done: so that they seemed to be left to please themselves with those expectations, which kept still life in their Party; and indeed it was but too visible, that the much greater part of the Clergy, were in a very ill temper, and under very bad influences; Enemies to the Toleration, and soured against the Dissenters.

Negotiations for Peace.

I now must relate the Negotiations, that the *French* set on foot for a Peace. Soon after the Battle of *Ramellies*, the Elector of *Bavaria* gave out hopes of a Peace; and that the King of *France* would come to a Treaty of Partition; that *Spain* and the *West Indies* should go to King *Charles*, if the Dominions of *Italy* were given to K. *Philip*. They hoped that *England* and the *States* would agree to this, as less concerned in *Italy*: But they knew, the Court of *Vienna* would never hearken to it, for they valued the Dominions in *Italy*, with the Islands near them, much more than all the rest of the *Spanish* Monarchy. But at the same time, that *Lewis* the XIVth was tempting us, with the hopes of *Spain* and the *West-Indies*; by a Letter to the Pope, that King offered the Dominions in *Italy* to King *Charles*. The Parliament had always declared, the ground of the War to be, the restoring the whole *Spanish* Monarchy to the House of *Austria*, (which indeed the *States* had never done) so the Duke of *Marlborough* could not hearken to this: He convinced the *States* of the

trea-

treacherous designs of the Court of *France*, in this Offer, and it was not entertained. 1709.

The Court of *Vienna* was so alarmed at the inclinations, some had expressed towards the entertaining this Project, that this was believed to be the secret motive of the Treaty, the succeeding Winter, for evacuating the *Milanese*, and of their persisting so obstinately, the Summer after, in their designs upon *Naples*; for by this means they became Masters of both. The *French*, being now reduced to great extremities, by their constant ill success, and by the miseries of their People, resolved, to try the *States* again; and when the Duke of *Marlborough* came over to *England*, Mr. *Rouillé* was sent to *Holland*, with general offers of Peace, desiring them to propose what it was they insisted on: And he offered them, as good a Barrier for themselves as they could ask. The *States*, contrary to their expectation, resolved to adhere firmly to the Confederates, and to enter into no separate Treaty, but in conjunction with their Allies: so, upon the Duke of *Marlborough*'s return, they, with their Allies, began to prepare Preliminaries, to be first agreed to, before a general Treaty should be opened: They had been so well acquainted with the perfidious methods of the *French* Court, when a Treaty was once opened, to divide the Allies, and to create Jealousies among them, and had felt so sensibly the ill Effects of

1709. this, both at *Nimeguen* and *Ryſwick*, that they reſoved to uſe all neceſſary precautions for the future; ſo Preliminaries were prepared, and the Duke of *Marlborough* came over hither, to concert them with the Miniſtry at home.

In this ſecond abſence of his, Mr. *de Torcy*, the Secretary of State for foreign Affairs, was ſent to the *Hague*, the better to diſpoſe the *States* to Peace, by the influence of ſo great a Miniſter: no Methods were left untried, both with the *States* in general, and with every Man they ſpoke with in particular, to beget in them a full aſſurance of the King's ſincere intentions for Peace: But they knew the artifices of that Court too well, to be ſoon deceived; ſo they made no advances till the Duke of *Marlborough* came back, who carried over the Lord Viſcount *Townſhend*, to be conjunct Plenipotentiary with himſelf, reckoning the Load too great to bear it wholly on himſelf. The choice was well made; for as Lord *Townſhend* had great parts, had improved theſe by travelling, and was by much the moſt ſhining Perſon of all our young Nobility, and had, on many occaſions, diſtinguiſhed himſelf very eminently; ſo he was a Man of great integrity, and of good Principles in all reſpects, free from all vice, and of an engaging converſation.

Lord *Townſhend* ſent to *Holland*.

The foundation of the whole Treaty was, the reſtoring of the whole *Spaniſh* Mo-

The Preliminaries agreed on.

Monarchy to King *Charles*, within two Months: *Torcy* ſaid, the time was too ſhort, and that perhaps it was not in the King of *France*'s power to bring that about; for the *Spaniards* ſeemed reſolved to ſtick to King *Philip*. It was, upon this, inſiſted on, that the King of *France* ſhould be obliged to concur with the Allies, to force it by all proper methods: But this was not farther explained, for the Allies were well aſſured, that if it was ſincerely intended by *France*, there would be no great difficulty in bringing it about. This therefore, being laid down as the Baſis of the Treaty, the other Preliminaries related to the reſtoring all the Places in the *Netherlands*, except *Cambray* and *St. Omer*; the demoliſhing or reſtoring of *Dunkirk*; the reſtoring of *Strasbourg*, *Briſack*, and *Huningen* to the Empire; *New-foundland* to *England*; and *Savoy* to that Duke, beſides his continuing poſſeſſed of all he then had in his hands; the acknowledging the King of *Pruſſia*'s Royal Dignity; and the Electorate in the Houſe of *Brunſwick*; the ſending the *Pretender* out of *France*, and the owning the Succeſſion to the Crown of *England*, as it was ſettled by Law. As all the great Intereſts were provided for, by theſe Preliminaries; ſo all other matters were reſerved to be conſidered, when the Treaty of Peace ſhould be opened: A Ceſſation of all Hoſtilities was to begin, within two months, and to 1709.

1709. continue till all was concluded by a compleat Treaty, and ratified: provided the *Spaniſh* Monarchy was then intirely reſtored. The *French* Plenipotentiaries ſeemed to be confounded at theſe demands. *Torcy* excepted to the leaving *Exilles* and *Feneſtrelle* in the Duke of *Savoy*'s hands; for he ſaid, he had no inſtructions relating to them: But in concluſion, they ſeemed to ſubmit to them, and *Torcy* at parting deſired the Ratifications might be returned with all poſſible haſte, and promiſed that the King of *France*'s final anſwer ſhould be ſent, by the fourth of *June*; but ſpoke of their affairs as a Man in deſpair: He ſaid, he did not know but he might find King *Philip* at *Paris*, before he got thither, and ſaid all that was poſſible, to aſſure them of the ſincerity of the King of *France*, and to divert them from the thoughts of opening the Campaign; but at the ſame time King *Philip* was getting his Son, the Prince of *Aſturias*, to be acknowledged, by all the Towns and Bodies of *Spain*, as the Heir of that Monarchy.

The King of *France* refuſes to ratfy them.

Upon this outward appearance of agreeing to the Preliminaries, all People looked upon the Peace to be as good as made; and Ratifications came from all the Courts of the Allies, but the King of *France* refuſed to agree to them: He pretended ſome exceptions to the Articles, relating to the Emperor, and the Duke of *Savoy*; but inſiſted chiefly on that, of not beginning the

Sus-

Suſpenſion of Arms, till the *Spaniſh* Monarchy ſhould be all reſtored: He ſaid, that was not in his power to execute; he ordered his Miniſter afterwards to yield up all but this laſt; and by a third perſon, one *Pettecum*, it was offered, to put ſome more Towns into the hands of the Allies, to be kept by them, till *Spain* was reſtored. It appeared by this, that the *French* had no other deſign in all this Negotiation, but to try if they could beget an ill underſtanding among the Allies, or, by the ſeeming great conceſſions, for the ſecurity of the *States*, provoke the People of *Holland* againſt their Magiſtrates, if they ſhould carry on the War, when they ſeemed to be ſafe; and they reckoned, if a Suſpenſion of Arms could be once obtained, upon any other terms, than the reſtoring of *Spain*, then *France* would get out of the War, and the Allies muſt try, how they could conquer *Spain*. *France* had ſo perfidiouſly broke all their Treaties, during this King's Reign, that it was a piece of inexcuſable folly, to expect any other from them. In the Peace of the *Pyrenees*, where the intereſt of *France* was not ſo deeply engaged, to preſerve *Portugal* from falling under the Yoke of *Caſtile*, as it was now to preſerve *Spain* in the hands of a Grandſon; after the King had ſworn to give no Aſſiſtance to *Portugal*, yet, under the pretence of breaking ſome Bodies, he ſuffered them to be entertained by the *Portugueze* Am- 1709.

1709. Ambaſſador, and ſent *Schomberg* to command that Army; pretending he could not hinder one, that was a *German* by birth, to go and ſerve where he pleaſed. Under theſe pretences, he had broke his Faith, where the conſideration was not ſo ſtrong, as in the preſent caſe. Thus it was viſible no Faith, that King could give, was to be relied on, and that unleſs *Spain* was reſtored, all would prove a fatal deluſion: Beſides, it came afterwards to be known, that the Places in *Brabant* and *Hainault*, commanded by the Elector of *Bavaria*, would not have been evacuated by him, unleſs he had orders for it from the King of *Spain*, under whom he governed in them; and that was not to be expected: So the eaſineſs, with which the *French* Miniſters yielded to the Preliminaries, was now underſtood to be an artifice, to ſlacken the zeal of the Confederates, in advancing the Campaign, as the leaſt effect it would have: But in that, their hopes failed them, for there was no time loſt, in preparing to take the Field.

I do not mix, with the relation that I have given upon good Authority, the uncertain reports we had of diſtractions in the Court of *France*, where it was ſaid, that the Duke of *Burgundy* preſſed the making a Peace, as neceſſary to prevent the Ruin of *France*, while the *Daupbin* preſſed more vehemently the continuance of the War, and the ſupporting of the King of *Spain*:

It

It was ſaid, that Madam *Maintenon* appeared leſs at Court; *Chamillard*, who had moſt of her favour, was diſmiſs'd: but it is not certain, what influence that had on the publick Councils; and the conduct of this whole Negotiation ſhewed plainly, that there was nothing deſigned in it, but to divide, or to deceive the Confederates; and, if poſſible, to gain a ſeparate Peace for *France*; and then to let the Allies conquer *Spain* as they could. But the Allies kept firm to one another, and the treachery of the *French* appeared ſo viſible, even to the People in *Holland*, that all the hopes they had, of inflaming them againſt their Magiſtrates, likewiſe failed. The People in *France* were much wrought on, by this pretended Indignity, offered to their Monarch, to oblige him to force his Grandſon to abandon *Spain*; and even, here in *England*, there wanted not many, who ſaid it was a cruel hardſhip put on the *French* King, to force him into ſuch an unnatural War: But if he was guilty of the injuſtice, of putting him in poſſeſſion of that Kingdom, it was but a reaſonable piece of juſtice, to undo what he himſelf had done: And it was ſo viſible, that King *Philip* was maintained on that Throne, by the Councils and Aſſiſtance of *France*, that no doubt was made, but that, if the King of *France* had really deſigned it, he could eaſily have obliged him to relinquiſh all pretenſions to that Crown. 1709.

Thus

1709. Thus the Negotiations came ſoon to an end; without producing any ill effect among the Allies; and all the Miniſters at the *Hague* made great Acknowledgments to the Penſioner *Heinſius*, and to the *States*, for the candor and firmneſs they had expreſſed on that occaſion. The Miſeries of *France* were repreſented, from all parts, as extreme great; the proſpect both for Corn and Wine was ſo low, that they ſaw no hope nor relief. They ſent to all places for Corn, to preſerve their People, many of the Ships that brought it to them, were taken by our Men of War; but this did not touch the heart of their King, who ſeemed to have hardened himſelf, againſt the ſenſe of the Miſeries of his People. *Villars* was ſent to command the Armies in *Flanders*, of whom the King of *France* ſaid, that he was never beaten: *Harcourt* was ſent to command on the *Rhine*, and the Duke of *Berwick* in *Daupbiny*. This Summer paſſed over, without any conſiderable Action in *Spain*: There was an Engagement on the Frontier of *Portugal*, in which the *Portugueze* behaved themſelves very ill, and were beaten; but the *Spaniards* did not purſue the advantage they had by this Action; for they, apprehending that our Fleet might have a deſign upon ſome part of their Southern Coaſt, were forced to draw their Troops from the Frontiers of *Portugal*, to defend their own Coaſt; tho' we gave them no diſturbance on that ſide.

The War went on.

In *Portugal.*

The King of *France*, to carry on the ſhow of

of a Design for Peace, withdrew his Troops out of *Spain*, but at the same time took care, to encourage the *Spanish* Grandees, and to support his Grandson: And since it was visible, that either the *Spaniards*, or the Allies, were to be deceived by him, it was much more reasonable to believe that the Allies, and not the *Spaniards*, were to feel the effects of this fraudulent way of proceeding. The *French* General *Besons*, who commanded in *Arragon*, had indeed Orders not to venture on a Battle, for that would have been too gross a thing, to be in any wise palliated; but he continued all this Summer commanding their Armies. Nothing of any importance passed on the side of *Dauphiny*: The Emperor continued still to refuse complying with the Duke of *Savoy*'s demands; so he would not make the Campaign in Person, and his Troops kept on the defensive. On the other hand, the *French*, as they saw they were to be feebly attacked, were too weak to do any thing more, than cover their own Country. Little was expected on the *Rhine*; the *Germans* were so weak, so ill furnished, and so ill paid, that it was not easy for the Court of *Vienna*, to prevail on the Elector of *Brunswick* to undertake the command of that Army; yet he came at last: And upon his coming, the *French*, who had passed the *Rhine*, thought it was safest for them to repass that River, and to keep within their Lines. The Elector sent Count *Mercy*, with a con-

1709.

In *Spain*.

In *Dauphiny*.

In *Germany*.

1709. considerable Body, to pass the *Rhine* near *Basil*, and on design to break into *Franche Comté*; but a detached Body of the *French*, lying in their way, there followed a very sharp Engagement; 2000 Men were reckoned to be killed on each side; but tho' the loss of Men was reckoned equal, yet the Design miscarried, and the *Germans* were forced to repass the *Rhine*. The rest of the Campaign went over there, without any Action.

And in *Flanders.* The chief Scene was in *Flanders*; where the Duke of *Marlborough* trusting little to the Shews of Peace, had every thing in readiness to open the Campaign, as soon as he saw what might be expected from the Court of *France*. The Army was formed near *Lisle*, and the *French* lay near *Doway*; the Train of Artillery was, by a Feint, brought up the *Lys* to *Courtray*; so it was believed the Design was upon *Ypres*, and there being no apprehension of any attempt on *Tournay*, no particular care was taken of it; but it was on the sudden invested, and the Train was sent back to *Ghendt*, and brought up the *Scheld* to *Tournay*. The Siege was carried on regularly: No disturbance was given to the works by Sallies, so the Town capitulated within a Month, the Garrison being allowed to retire into the Citadel, which was counted one of the strongest in *Europe*, not only fortified with the utmost exactness, but all the Ground was wrought into Mines; so that the Re-

Tournay is besieged and taken.

sistance

ſtance of the Garriſon was not ſo much apprehended, as the miſchief they might do by blowing up their Mines. A Capitulation was propoſed, for delivering it up on the fifth of *September*, if it ſhould not be relieved ſooner, and that all hoſtilities ſhould ceaſe till then. This was offered by the Garriſon, and agreed to by the Duke of *Marlborough*; but the King of *France* would not conſent to it, unleſs there were a general Suſpenſion, by the whole Army, of all Hoſtilities; and that being rejected, the Siege went on. Many Men were loſt in it, but the proceeding by Sap prevented much michief; in the end no relief came, and the Garriſon capitulated in the beginning of *September*, but could obtain no better Conditions, than to be made Priſoners of War. 1709.

After this Siege was over, *Mons* was inveſted, and the Troops marched thither, as ſoon as they had levelled their Trenches about *Tournay*: But the Court of *France* reſolved to venture a Battle, rather than to look on, and ſee ſo important a Place taken from them. *Boufflers* was ſent from Court to join with *Villars*, in the execution of this Deſig: They poſſeſſed themſelves of a Wood, and intrenched themſelves ſo ſtrongly, that in ſome places there were three intrenchments caſt up, one within another. The Duke of *Marlborough* and Prince *Eugene* ſaw plainly, it was not poſſible to carry on the Siege of *Mons*, while the *French* Army lay

1709. ſo near it; ſo it was neceſſary to diſlodge them. The Attempt was bold, and they ſaw the execution would be difficult, and coſt them many Men. This was the ſharpeſt Action in the whole War, and laſted the longeſt. The *French* were poſted ſo advantageouſly, that our Men were oft repulſed; and indeed the *French* maintained their ground better, and ſhewed more courage, than appeared in the whole courſe of the War: Yet in concluſion they were driven from all their Poſts, and the Action ended in a compleat Victory. The number of Slain was almoſt equal on both ſides, about 12000 of a ſide. We took 500 Officers Priſoners, beſides many Cannon, Standards, and Enſigns. *Villars* was diſabled by ſome wounds he received, ſo *Boufflers* made the Retreat in good order. The Military Men have always talked of this, as, the ſharpeſt Action in the whole War, not without reflecting on the Generals, for beginning ſo deſperate an Attack. The *French* thought it a ſort of a Victory, that they had animated their Men, to fight ſo well behind Entrenchments, and to repulſe our Men ſo often, and with ſo great loſs. They retired to *Valenciennes*, and ſecured themſelves by caſting up ſtrong Lines, while they left our Army to carry on the Siege of *Mons*, without giving them the leaſt diſturbance. As ſoon as the Train of Artillery was brought from *Bruſſels*, the Siege was carried on with great vigour, tho'

The Battle of *Malplaquet.*

Mons beſieged & taken.

tho' the Seaſon was both cold and rainy: The Outworks were carried with little reſiſtance, and *Mons* capitulated about the end of *October*; with that the Campaign ended, both Armies retiring into Winter Quarters. 1709.

The moſt important thing, that relates to *Italy*, was, that the Pope delayed acknowledging King *Charles*, by ſeveral pretended difficulties; his deſign being to ſtay and ſee the iſſue of the Campaign; but when he was threatened, towards the end of it, that if it was not done, the Imperial Army ſhould come and take up their Winter Quarters in the Eccleſiaſtical State, he ſubmitted, and acknowledged him. He ſent alſo his Nephew *Albano*, firſt to *Vienna*, and then to *Poland*; he furniſhed him with a magnificent Retinue, and ſeemed to hope, that by the ſervices he ſhould do to the Papal intereſts there, he ſhould be preſſed to make him a Cardinal, notwithſtanding the Bull againſt Nepotiſm. Affairs in *Italy*.

In *Catalonia*, *Staremberg*, after he received Reinforcements from *Italy*, advanced towards the *Segra*, and having for ſome days amuſed the Enemy, he paſſed the River: The *Spaniards* deſigned to give him Battle, but *Beſons*, who commanded the *French* Troops, refuſed to engage: this provoked the *Spaniards* ſo much, that King *Philip* thought it was neceſſary to leave *Madrid*, and go to the Army; *Beſons* produced his Orders from the King of *France*, to avoid Affairs in *Spain*.

1709. all Engagements, with which he ſeemed much mortified. *Staremberg* advanced and took *Balaguer*, and made the Garriſon Priſoners of War; and with that the Campaign on that ſide was at an end.

The King of *Sweden's* Defeat.

This Summer brought a Cataſtrophe on the affairs of the King of *Sweden*: He reſolved to invade *Muſcovy*, and engaged himſelf ſo far into the *Ukrain*, that there was no poſſibility of his retreating, or of having Reinforcements brought him. He engaged a great Body of *Coſſacks* to join him, who were eaſily drawn to revolt from the *Czar*: He met with great misfortunes, in the end of the former year, but nothing could divert him from his deſigns againſt *Muſcovy*: He paſſed the *Nieper*, and beſieged *Pultowa*: The *Czar* marched to raiſe the Siege, with an Army in number much ſuperiour to the *Swedes*; but the King of *Sweden* reſolved to venture on a Battle, in which he received ſuch a total defeat, that he loſt his Camp, his Artillery, and Baggage: A great part of his Army got off, but being cloſely purſued by the *Muſcovites*, and having neither Bread nor Ammunition, they were all made Priſoners of War.

The King flies into *Turkey*.

The King himſelf, with a ſmall number about him, paſſed the *Nieper*, and got into the *Turkiſh* Dominions, and ſettled at *Bender*, a Town in *Moldavia*. Upon this great reverſe of his Affairs King *Auguſtus* pretended, that the Reſignation of the Crown

of

of *Poland* was extorted from him by force; and that it was not in his power to reſign the Crown, by which he was tied to the Republick of *Poland*, without their conſent: ſo he marched into *Poland*, and *Staniſlaus* was not able to make any reſiſtance, but continued under the protection of the *Swedes*, waiting for another turn of Fortune. A Project was formed to engage the Kings of *Denmark* and *Pruſſia*, with King *Auguſtus* and the *Czar*, to attack the *Swedes* in ſo many different places, that the extravagant humour of their King was like now to draw a heavy ſtorm upon them; if *England* and the *States*, with the Court of *Vienna*, had not cruſhed all this, and entred into a Guaranty, for preſerving the Peace of the Empire, and by conſequence, of the *Swediſh* Dominions in *Germany*. *Dantzick* was at this time ſeverely viſited with a Plague, which ſwept away almoſt one half of their Inhabitants, tho' few of the better ſort died of the infection. This put their Neighbours under great apprehenſions, they feared the ſpreading of the contagion; but it pleaſed God, it went no farther. This ſudden, and, as it ſeemed, total Reverſe of all the Deſigns of the King of *Sweden*, who had been for many years the Terror of all his Neighbours, made me write to Dr. *Robinſon*, who had lived above thirty years in that Court, and is now Biſhop of *Briſtol*, for a particular Character of that King. 1709.

1709. I ſhall ſet it down in his own Words.

His Character. He is now in the 28th year of his age, tall and ſlender, ſtoops a little, and in his walking diſcovers, tho' in no great degree, the effect of breaking his thigh-bone about eight years ago: He is of a very vigorous and healthy conſtitution, takes a Pleaſure in enduring the greateſt fatigues, and is little curious about his repoſe: His chief and almoſt only exerciſe has been riding, in which he has been extremely exceſſive: He uſually eats, with a good appetite, eſpecially in the morning, which is the beſt of his three Meals: He never drinks any thing but ſmall beer, and is not much concerned whether it be good or bad: He ſpeaks little, is very thoughtful, and is obſerved to mind nothing ſo much as his own Affairs, laying his Deſigns, and contriving the ways of acting, without communicating them to any, till they are to be put in execution: He holds few or no Councils of War; and tho' in civil Affairs his Miniſters have leave to explain their thoughts, and are heard very patiently, yet he relies more on his own judgment, than on theirs, and frequently falls on ſuch methods, as are fartheſt from their thoughts: So that, both his Miniſters and Generals have hitherto had the Glory of obedience, without either the Praiſe or Blame of having adviſed prudently or otherwiſe. The reaſon of his reſervedneſs in conſulting others may be thus accounted for; he came, at the Age of Fifteen, to ſuc-

ceed, in an Abſolute Monachy, and by the forward zeal of the States of the Kingdom, was in a few months declared to be of Age: There were thoſe about him, that magnified his underſtanding, as much as his authority, and inſinuated that he neither needed advice, nor could ſubmit his affairs to the deliberation of others, without ſome diminution of his own ſupreme Power. Theſe impreſſions had not all their effect, till after the War was begun, in the courſe of which, he ſurmounted ſo many impoſſibilities (as thoſe about him thought them) that he came to have leſs value for their judgment, and more for his own, and at laſt to think nothing impoſſible. So it may be truly ſaid, that under God, as well all his glorious ſucceſſes, as the late fatal reverſe of them, have been owing ſolely to his own Conduct. As to his Piety, it cannot be ſaid but that the outward appearances have highly recommended it, only it is not very eaſy to account for the exceſs of his revenge againſt King *Auguſtus*, and ſome other inſtances; but he is not ſuſpected of any bodily indulgencies. It is moſt certain, he has all along wiſhed well to the Allies, and not at all to *France*, which he never intended to ſerve by any ſteps he has made. We hear the *Turks* uſe him well, but time muſt ſhew what uſe they will make of him, and how he will get back into his own Kingdom. If this misfortune does not quite ruin him, it may temper his fire, and then 1709.

1709. he may become one of the greateſt Princes of the Age. Thus I leave him and his Character.

Affairs in *Denmark.*

The King of *Denmark* ſpent a great part of this Summer in a very expenſive courſe of travelling, thro' the Courts of *Germany* and *Italy*, and it was believed he intended to go to *Rome*, where great preparations were making, for giving him a ſplendid Reception; for it was given out, that he intended to change his Religion: But whether theſe reports were altogether groundleſs, or whether their being ſo commonly believed, was like to produce ſome diſorders in his own Kingdom, is not certainly known; only thus much is certain, that he ſtopt at *Florence*, and went no further, but returned home; and upon the King of *Sweden*'s misfortunes, entered into meaſures to attack *Sweden*, with King *Auguſtus*; who had called a Diet in *Poland*, in which he was acknowledged their King, and all things were ſettled there, according to his wiſhes. The King of *Denmark*, upon his return home, ſent an Army over the *Sound* into *Schonen*; but his Counſels were ſo weak, and ſo ill conducted, that he did not ſend a Train of Artillery, with other neceſſaries, after them: Some Places, that were not tenable, were yielded up by the *Swedes*, and by the progreſs that he made at firſt, he ſeemed to be in a fair way of recovering that Province; but the *Swedes* brought an Army together, tho' far inferiour to the *Danes* in number, and falling on them, gave

gave them ſuch an entire defeat, that the King of *Denmark* was forced to bring back, as well as he could, the broken remnants of his Army, by which an end was put to that inglorious Expedition. 1709.

The *Swediſh* Army, that was in *Poland*, having got into *Pomerania*, the *French* ſtudied to engage them to fall in to *Saxony*, to embroil the affairs of *Germany*, and by that means engage the neighbouring Princes, to recall the Troops that were in the Queen's ſervice, and that of the other Allies in *Flanders*; but the Queen and the *States* interpoſed effectually in this matter, and the *Swedes* were ſo ſenſible, how much they might need their protection, that they acquieſced in the propoſitions, that were made to them; ſo the Peace of the Northern parts of the Empire was ſecured. A Peace was likewiſe made up, between the *Grand Seignior* and the *Czar*: The King of *Sweden* continued ſtill at *Bender*; the War in *Hungary* went ſtill on. The Court of *Vienna* publiſhed ample Relations of the great ſucceſſes they had there; but an *Hungarian* aſſured me, theſe were given out, to make the Malecontents ſeem an inconſiderable and ruined Party. There were ſecret Negotiations ſtill going on, but without effect.

Nothing of importance paſs'd on the Sea: The *French* put out no Fleet, and our Convoys were ſo well ordered, and ſo hap- Our Fleet well conducted.

1709. happy, that our Merchants made no complaints. Towards the end of the Year, the Earl of *Pembroke* found the care of the Fleet a load too heavy for him to bear, and that he could not discharge it, as it ought to be done; so he desired leave to lay it down. It was offered to the Earl of *Orford*; but tho' he was willing to serve at the head of a Commission, he refused to accept of it singly; so it was put in Commission, in which he was the first.

A Session of Parliament.

I now come to give an account of the Session of Parliament, that came on this Winter. All the Supplies, that were asked, for carrying on the War, were granted, and put on good Funds; in this there was a general unanimous concurrence: But the great business of this Session, that took up most of their time, and that had great effects in conclusion, related to Dr. *Sacheverel*. This being one of the most extraordinary transactions in my time, I will relate it very copiously. Dr. *Sacheverel* was a bold insolent Man, with a very small measure of Religion, Virtue, Learning, or Good Sense; but he resolved to force himself into Popularity and Preferment, by the most petulant Railings at Dissenters, and Low Churchmen, in several Sermons and Libels, wrote without either chastness of stile, or liveliness of expression; All was one unpractised strain of indecent and scurrilous language. When he had pursued this method for several years without effect

effect, he was at last brought up by a popular Election to a Church in *Southwark*, where he began to make great reflections on the Ministry, representing that the Church was in danger, being neglected by those who governed, while they favoured her most inveterate Enemies. At the Assizes in *Derby* (where he preached before the Judges) and on the fifth of *November* preaching at St. *Paul's* in *London*) he gave a full vent to his fury, in the most virulent Declamation, that he could contrive, upon these words of St. *Paul's*, *Perils from false Brethren*; in which, after some short reflections upon Popery, he let himself loose into such indecencies, that both the Man and the Sermon were universally condemned: He asserted the Doctrine of Non-resistance in the highest strain possible, and said, that to charge the Revolution with resistance, was to cast black and odious imputations on it; pretending, that the late King had disowned it, and cited for the proof of that, some words in his Declaration, by which he vindicated himself from a design of Conquest. He poured out much scorn and scurrility on the Dissenters, & reflected severely on the Toleration; and said the Church was violently attack'd by her Enemies, and loosely defended by her pretended Friends: He animated the People, to stand up for the defence of the Church, for which he said he sounded the Trumpet, and desired them to put on the whole Armour

1709.

Sacheverel's Sermon.

of

1709. of God. The Court of Aldermen refuſed to desire him to print his Sermon; but he did print it, pretending it was upon the desire of *Garrard*, then Lord Mayor, to whom he dedicated it, with an inflaming Epiſtle at the head of it. The Party, that oppoſed the Miniſtry, did ſo magnify the Sermon, that, as was generally reckoned, about 40000 of them were printed, and diſperſed over the Nation. The Queen ſeemed highly offended at it, and the Miniſtry looked on it as an Attack made on them, that was not to be deſpiſed. The Lord Treaſurer was ſo deſcribed, that it was next to the naming him, ſo a Parliamentary Impeachment was reſolved on: *Eyre*, then Sollicitor General, and others thought the ſhort way of burning the Sermon, and keeping him in Priſon during the Seſſion, was the better method; but the more ſolemn way was unhappily choſen.

Many Books wrote againſt the Queens Title.

There had been, ever ſince the Queen came to the Crown, an open Revival of the Doctrine of Paſſive-Obedience & Non-Reſiſtance, by one *Leſley*, who was the firſt Man that began the War in *Ireland*; ſaying, in a Speech ſolemnly made, that King *James*, by declaring himſelf a Papiſt, could no longer be our King, ſince he could not be the Defender of our Faith, nor the Head of our Church, Dignities ſo inherent in the Crown, that he who was incapable of theſe, could no hold it: A Copy of which Speech, the preſent Archbiſhop of *Dublin* told me he had, under his own hand. As he animated the People with this

this Speech, ſo ſome Actions followed under his conduct, in which ſeveral Men were killed; yet this Man changed ſides quickly, and became the violenteſt Jacobite in the Nation, and was engaged in many Plots, and in writing many Books againſt the Revolution, and the preſent Government. Soon after the Queen was on the Throne, he, or his Son as ſome ſaid, publiſhed a Series of weekly Papers under the Title of the *Rehearſal*, purſuing a thread of arguments in them all, againſt the lawfulneſs of Reſiſtance, in any caſe whatſoever; deriving Government wholly from God, denying all Right in the People, either to confer, or to coerce it: The Miniſters connived at this, with what intention God knows. 1709.

Whilſt theſe ſeditious Papers had a free courſe for many years, and were much ſpread and magnified; one *Hoadly*, a pious and judicious Divine, being called to preach before the Lord Mayor, choſe for his Text the firſt Verſes of the 13th Chapter to the *Romans*, and fairly explained the words there, that they were to be underſtood only againſt reſiſting good Governours, upon the *Jewiſh* Principles; but, that thoſe words had no relation to bad and cruel Governours: and he aſſerted, that it was not only lawful, but a duty incumbent on all Men, to reſiſt ſuch; concluding all, with a Vindication of the Revolution, and the preſent Government. Upon this, a great out- 1710.

Hoadly's writings in defence thereof.

1710. outcry was raiſed, as if he had preached up Rebellion; ſeveral Books were wrote againſt him, and he juſtified himſelf, with a viſible Superiority of Argument, to them all, and did ſo ſolidly overthrow the conceit of one *Filmer*, now eſpouſed by *Leſley* (that Government was derived by Primogeniture from the firſt Patriarchs) that for ſome time, he ſilenced his Adverſaries: but it was an eaſier thing to keep up a clamour, than to write a ſolid Anſwer. *Sacheverel* did, with great virulence, reflect on him, and on me, and ſeveral other Biſhops, carrying his venom as far back as to Archbiſhop *Grindal*, whom, for his moderation, he called a perfidious Prelate, and a falſe Son of the Church. When it was moved to impeach him, the Lord Mayor of *London*, being a Member of the Houſe of Commons, was examined to this point, whether the Sermon was printed at his deſire or order; upon his owning it, he would have been expelled the Houſe; but he denied he had given any ſuch order, tho' *Sacheverel* affirmed it and brought Witneſſes to prove it: Yet the Houſe would not enter upon that examination; but it was thought more decent to ſeem to give credit to their own Member, tho' indeed few believed him.

Sacheverel impeached by the Houſe of Commons.

Some oppoſition was made to the motion, for impeaching *Sacheverel*, but it was carried by a great majority: The proceedings were ſlow; ſo thoſe, who intended to inflame the City,

City, and the Nation upon that occaſion, had time ſufficient given them, for laying their deſigns: They gave it out boldy, and in all places, that a Deſign was formed by the Whigs, to pull down the Church, and that this Proſecution was only ſet on foot to try their ſtrength; and that, upon their ſucceſs in it, they would proceed more openly. Tho' this was all falſehood and Forgery, yet it was propagated with ſo much application and zeal, and the Tools imployed in it, were ſo well ſupplied with Money (from whom, was not then known) that it is ſcarce credible how generally it was believed. 1710.

Some things concurred to put the vulgar in ill humour; it was a time of dearth and ſcarcity, ſo that the poor were much pinched: The Summer before, ten or twelve thouſand poor People of the *Palatinate*, who were reduced to great miſery, came into *England*; they were well received and ſupplied, both by the Queen, and by the voluntary charities of good People: This filled our own Poor with great indignation; who thought thoſe charities, to which they had a better right, were thus intercepted by Strangers; and all who were ill affected, ſtudied to heighten theſe their reſentments. The Clergy did generally eſpouſe *Sacheverel*, as their Champion, who had ſtood in the breach; and ſo they reckoned his cauſe was their own. Many Sermons were preached, both in *London* and in other places, to provoke the People, in which they ſuc-

1710. ſucceeded beyond expectation. Some accidents concurred to delay the proceedings; much time was ſpent in preparing the Articles of Impeachment: And the Anſwer was, by many ſhifts, long delayed: It was bold, without either ſubmiſſion or common reſpect; he juſtified every thing in his Sermon, in a very haughty and aſſuming ſtile. In concluſion, the Lords ordered the Trial to be at the Bar of their Houſe; but thoſe who found, that by gaining more time, the People were ſtill more inflamed, moved that the Trial might be publick in *Weſtminſter Hall*; where the whole Houſe of Commons might be preſent: This took ſo with unthinking People, that it could not be withſtood, tho the effects it would have, were well foreſeen: The preparing *Weſtminſter Hall* was a work of ſome weeks.

And tried in *Weſtminſter Hall.*

At laſt, on the 27th of *February*, the Trial begun. *Sacheverel* was lodged in the *Temple*, and came every day with great ſolemnity, in a Coach to the *Hall*; great Crouds ran about his Coach with many ſhouts expreſſing their concern for him, in a very rude and tumultuous manner. The Trial laſted three Weeks, in which all other buſineſs was at a ſtand; for this took up all Mens thoughts: The Managers for the Commons opened the matter very ſolemnly: Their performances were much and juſtly commended: *Jekyll*, *Eyre*, *Stanhope*, *King*; but above all *Parker*, diſtinguiſhed themſelves

ſelves in a very particular manner: They did copiouſly juſtify both the Revolution, and the Preſent Adminiſtration. There was no need of Witneſſes; for the Sermon being owned by him, all the evidence was brought from it, by laying his words together, and by ſhewing his intent and meaning in them, which appeared from comparing one place with another. When his Counſel, Sir *Simon Harcourt*, *Dodd*, *Phipps*, and two others, came to plead for him, they very freely acknowledged the lawfulneſs of Reſiſtance in extreme caſes, and plainly juſtified the Revolution, and our deliverance by King *William*: But they ſaid, it was not fit, in a Sermon, to name ſuch an exception; that the duties of Morality ought to be delivered in their full extent, without ſuppoſing an extraordinary caſe: And therefore *Sacheverel* had followed precedents, ſet by our greateſt Divines, ever ſince the Reformation, and ever ſince the Revolution. Upon this, they opened a great field; they began with the Declarations made in King *Henry* the VIIIth's time; they inſiſted next, upon the Homilies, and from thence inſtanced in a large ſeries of Biſhops and Divines, who had preached the Duty of Submiſſion and Non-Reſiſtance, in very full terms, without ſuppoſing any exception; ſome excluding all exceptions, in as poſitive a manner, as he had done: They explained the Word *Revolution*, as belonging to the new Settlement upon King *James*'s withdraw- 1710.

1710. ing; tho' in the common acceptation, it was underſtood of the whole tranſaction, from the landing of the *Dutch* Army, till the Settlement made by the Convention. So they underſtanding the Revolution in that ſenſe, there was indeed no *Reſiſtance* there: If the Paſſage, quoted from the Declaration, given out by the late King, while he was Prince of *Orange*, did not come up to that, for which he quoted it; he ought not to be cenſured becauſe his Quotation did not fully prove his point. As for his Invective againſt the Diſſenters and the Toleration, they laboured to turn that off, by ſaying, he did not reflect on what was allowed by Law, but on the permiſſion of, or the not puniſhing many, who publiſhed impious and blaſphemous Books: And a collection was made, of paſſages in Books, full of crude impiety and of bold opinions. This gave great offence to many, who thought that this was a ſolemn publiſhing of ſo much impiety to the Nation, by which more miſchief would be done, than by the Books themſelves; for moſt of them had been neglected, and known only to a ſmall number of thoſe who encouraged them; and the Authors, of many of theſe Books, had been proſecuted and puniſhed for them. As to thoſe parts of the Sermon, that ſet out the danger the Church was in, tho' both Houſes had ſome years ago voted it a great offence, to ſay it was in danger, they ſaid it might have

have been in none four years ago, when these Votes pass'd, and yet be now in danger: The greatest of all dangers was to be apprehended, from the wrath of God for such impieties. They said, the Reflections on the Administration were not meant of those, imployed immediately by the Queen, but of Men in inferior Posts: If his words seemed capable of a bad sense, they were also capable of a more innocent one; and every Man was allowed to put any construction on his words, that they could bear. When the Counsel had ended their defence, *Sacheverel* concluded it with a Speech, which he read with much bold heat; in which, with many solemn asseverations, he justified his intentions towards the Queen and her Government; he spoke with respect, both of the Revolution and the Protestant Succession; he insisted most on condemning all Resistance, under any pretence whatsoever, without mentioning the exeption of extreme necessity, as his Counsel had done: he said, it was the Doctrine of the Church, in which he was bred up; and added many pathetical expressions, to move the Audience to Compassion. This had a great effect on the weaker sort, while it possessed those, who knew the Man and his ordinary discourses, with horror, when they heard him affirm so many falsehoods, with such solemn Appeals to God. It was very plain the Speech was made for him 1710.

1710. by others; for the ſtile was correct, and far different from his own.

A great diſorder at that time.

During the Trial, the multitudes that followed him, all the way as he came and as he went back, ſhewed a great concern for him, preſſing about him, and ſtriving to kiſs his hand: Money was thrown among them; and they were animated to ſuch a pitch of fury, that they went to pull down ſome Meeting-houſes, which was executed on five of them, as far as burning all the Pews in them. This was directed by ſome of better faſhion, who followed the Mob in Hackney Coaches, and were ſeen ſending Meſſages to them: The Word, upon which all ſhouted, was *The Church and Sacheverel*: And ſuch as joined not in the ſhout, were inſulted and knocked down: Before my own door, one with a ſpade, cleft the skull of another, who would not ſhout as they did. There happened to be a Meeting-houſe near me, out of which they drew every thing that was in it, and burned it before the door of the Houſe. They theratened to do the like execution on my Houſe; but the noiſe of the Riot coming to Court, Orders were ſent to the Guards to go about, and diſperſe the Multitudes, and ſecure the publick Peace. As the Guards advanced, the People ran away; ſome few were only taken; theſe were afterwards proſecuted; but the party ſhewed a violent concern for them; two of them were condemned as guilty of High Treaſon; ſmall Fines were

ſet on the reſt; but no Execution follow- 1710.
ed; and after ſome months, they were
pardoned: and indeed this Remiſſneſs, in
puniſhing ſo great a diſorder, was looked
on as the preparing and encouraging Men
to new Tumults. There was a ſecret Ma-
nagement in this matter, that amazed all
People: for tho' the Queen, upon an Ad-
dreſs made to her by the Houſe of Com-
mons, ſet out a Proclamation, in which
this Riot was, with ſevere words, laid upon
Papiſts and Nonjurors, who were certainly
the chief Promoters of it; yet the Proceed-
dings afterwards did not anſwer the threat-
nings of the Proclamation.

When *Sacheverel* had ended his Defence, Continuation of the Trial.
the Managers for the Houſe of Commons
replied, and ſhewed very evidently, that
the words of his Sermon could not reaſona-
bly bear any other ſenſe, but that for which
they had charged him; this was an eaſy per-
formance, and they managed it with great
life: but the humour of the Town was
turned againſt them, and all the Clergy ap-
peared for *Sacheverel*. Many of the Queen's
Chaplains ſtood about him, encouraging and
magnifying him; and it was given out, that
the Queen herſelf favoured him: Tho', u-
pon my firſt coming to Town, which was
after the Impeachment was brought up to
the Lords, ſhe ſaid to me, that it was a
bad Sermon, and that he deſerved well to
be puniſhed for it. All her Miniſters, who
were in the Houſe of Commons, were na-

1710. med to be Managers, and they ſpoke very zealouſly for publick Liberty, juſtifying the Revolution. *Holt*, the Lord Chief juſtice of the *King's Bench*, died during the Trial: He was very learned in the Law, and had upon great occaſions ſhewed an intrepid zeal in aſſerting its Authority; for he ventured on the Indignation of both Houſes of Parliament by turns, when he thought the Law was with him: He was a Man of good judgment and great integrity, and ſet himſelf with great application to the functions of that important Poſt. Immediately upon his death, *Parker* was made Lord Chief Juſtice: This great Promotion ſeemed an evident demonſtration of the Queen's approving the Proſecution; for none of the Managers had treated *Sacheverel* ſo ſeverely as he had done; yet ſecret whiſpers were very confidently ſet about, that tho' the Queen's affairs put her on acting the part of one, that was pleaſed with this ſcene, yet ſhe diſliked it all, and would take the firſt occaſion to ſhew it.

Sir *John Holt's* Death and Character.

Parker made Lord Chief Juſtice.

After the Trial was ended, the Debate was taken up in the Houſe of Lords: It ſtuck long on the firſt Article; none pretended to juſtify the Sermon, or to aſſert abſolute Non-Reſiſtance: All who favoured him, went upon this, that the Duty of Obedience ought to be delivered in full and general words, without putting odd exceptions, or ſuppoſing odious caſes: This had been the method of all our Divines. Pains were alſo taken to ſhew,

Debates in the Houſe of Lords after the Trial.

ſhew, that his Sermon did not reflect on the Revolution: On the other hand, it was ſaid, that ſince the Revolution had happened ſo lately, and was made ſtill the ſubject of much controverſy, thoſe abſolute expreſſions did plainly condemn it. The Revolution was the whole progreſs of the Turn, from the Prince of *Orange*'s landing, till the Act of Settlement paſs'd. The Act of Parliament expreſſed, what was meant, by the Abdication and the Vacancy of the Throne; that it did not only relate to King *James*'s withdrawing himſelf, but to his ceaſing to govern according to our Conſtitution and Laws, ſetting up his meer Will and Pleaſure, as the Meaſure of his Government: This was made plainer, by another Clauſe in the Acts then paſs'd, which provided that if any of our Princes ſhould become Papiſts, or marry Papiſts, the Subjects were, in thoſe caſes, declared to be free from their Allegiance. Some of the Biſhops ſpoke in this Debate on each ſide; *Hooper*, Biſhop of *Bath and Wells*, ſpoke in excuſe of *Sacheverel*: But *Talbot*, Biſhop of *Oxford*; *Wake*, Biſhop of *Lincoln*; and *Trimnel*, Biſhop of *Norwich*, and myſelf, ſpoke on the other ſide. We ſhewed the Falſehood of an opinion too commonly received, that the Church of *England* had always condemned Reſiſtance, even in the caſes of extreme Tyranny: The Books of the *Maccabees*, bound in our Bibles, and approved by our Articles, (as containing 1710.

1710. ning Examples of Life and Inſtruction of Manners, tho' not as any part of the Canon of the Scripture) contained a full and clear Precedent for reſiſting and ſhaking off extreme Tyranny: The *Jews*, under that brave Family, not only defended themſelves againſt *Antiochus*, but formed themſelves into a free and new Government. Our Homilies were only againſt wilful Rebellion, ſuch as had been then againſt our Kings, while they were governing by Law: But at that very time, Queen *Elizabeth* had aſſiſted, firſt the *Scotch*, and then the *French*, and to the end of her days continued to protect the *States*, who not only reſiſted, but, as the *Maccabees* had done, ſhook off the *Spaniſh* yoke, and ſet up a new form of Government: In all this ſhe was not only juſtified by the beſt Writers of that time, ſuch as *Jewel* and *Bilſon*, but was approved and ſupported in it: Both her Parliaments and Convocations gave her Subſidies, to carry on thoſe Wars. The ſame Principles were kept up all King *James*'s Reign: In the beginning of King *Charles*'s Reign he protected the *Rochellers*, and asked Supplies from the Parliament, to enable him to do it effectually; and ordered a Faſt and Prayers to be made for them. It is true, ſoon after that, new notions of abſolute power, derived from God to Kings, were taken up; at the firſt riſe given to theſe by *Manwaring*, they were condemned by a Sentence of the Lords; and tho' he ſubmitted, and retracted his opinion,

yet

yet a ſevere Cenſure paſſed upon him: But during the long diſcontinuance of Parliaments that followed, this Doctrine was more favoured; it was generally preached up, and many things were done purſuant to it, which put the Nation into the great convulſions, that followed in our Civil Wars. After theſe were over, it was natural to return to the other extreme, as Courts naturally favour ſuch Doctrines. K. *James* truſted too much to it; yet the very Aſſertors of that Doctrine were the firſt, who pleaded for Reſiſtance, when they thought they needed it. Here was matter for a long debate: It was carried by a majority of Seventeen, that the firſt Article was proved. The Party, that was for *Sacheverel*, made no oppoſition to the Votes upon the following Articles; but contented themſelves, with proteſting againſt them: The Lords went down to the Hall, where the Queſtion being put upon the whole Impeachment, *Guilty* or *Not Guilty*, Fifty two voted him *Not Guilty*, and Sixty-nine voted him *Guilty*. 1710.

He is cenſured very gently.

The next Debate was, what Cenſure ought to paſs upon him: And here a ſtrange turn appeared; ſome ſeemed to apprehend the effects of a Popular Fury, if the Cenſure was ſevere; to others it was ſaid, that the Queen deſired it might be mild; ſo it was propoſed to ſuſpend him from preaching for one year; others were for ſix years; but by a Vote it was fixed to three years. It was next moved, that he

1710. ſhould be incapable of all preferment for thoſe three years; upon that, the Houſe was divided, Fifty-nine were for the Vote, and Sixty were againſt it: ſo that being laid aſide, the Sermon was ordered to be burnt, in the preſence of the Lord Mayor, and the Sheriffs of *London*, and this was done; only the Lord Mayor, being a Member of the Houſe of Commons, did not think he was bound to be preſent. The Lords alſo voted, that the Decrees of the Univerſity of *Oxford*, paſſed in 1683, in which the abſolute Authority of Princes, and the unalterableneſs of the Hereditary Right of ſucceeding to the Crown, were aſſerted in a very high ſtrain, ſhould be burnt with *Sacheverel*'s Sermon: The Houſe of Commons likewiſe ordered the impious Collection of blaſphemous expreſſions, that *Sacheverel* had printed as his juſtification, to be alſo burnt.

When this mild Judgment was given, thoſe, who had ſupported him during the Trial, expreſſed an inconceivable gladneſs, as if they had got a Victory; Bonefires, Illuminations, and other marks of joy appeared, not only in *London*, but over the whole Kingdom.

Addreſſes againſt the Parliament.

This had yet greater effects; Addreſſes were ſet on foot, from all the parts of the Nation, in which the Abſolute Power of our Princes was aſſerted, and all Reſiſtance was condemned, under the deſignation of Antimonarchical and Republican Principles;

ples; the Queen's Hereditary Right was acknowledged, and yet a zeal for the Proteſtant Succeſſion was likewiſe pretended, to make thoſe Addreſſes paſs the more eaſily, with unthinking multitudes: Moſt of theſe concluded, with an intimation of their hopes, that the Queen would diſſolve the preſent Parliament, giving aſſurances, that in a new Election, they would chooſe none, but ſuch as ſhould be faithful to the Crown, and zealous for the Church. Theſe were at firſt more coldly received; for the Queen either made no anſwer at all, or made them in very general words. Addreſſes were brought upon the other hand, magnifying the Conduct of the Parliament, and expreſſing a Zeal for maintaining the Revolution and the Proteſtant Succeſſion. 1710.

The Queen's Speech.

In the beginning of *April* the Parliament was prorogued, and the Queen, in her Speech thereupon, expreſſed her concern, that there was cauſe given for that, which had taken up ſo much of their time, wiſhing that all her People would be quiet, and mind their own buſineſs; adding, that in all times there was too much occaſion given to complain of impiety, but that ſhe would continue that Zeal, which ſhe had hitherto expreſſed for Religion, and for the Church: This ſeemed to look a different way from the whiſpers that had been ſet about. Soon after that, ſhe made a ſtep that revived them again: The Duke of *Shrewsbury* had gone out of *Eng-*

1710. *England* in the end of the former Reign, thinking, as he gave out, that a warmer Climate was neceſſary for his Health: He ſtaid ſeveral years at *Rome*, where he became acquainted with a *Roman* Lady; and ſhe, upon his leaving *Rome* to return to *England*, went after him to *Augsbourg*, where ſhe overtook him, and declared herſelf a Proteſtant; upon which, he married her there, and came with her back to *England*, in the Year 1706. Upon his return, the Whigs lived in civilities with him; but they thought his leaving *England*, and his living ſo long out of it, while we were in ſo much danger at home, and his ſtrange Marriage, gave juſt cauſe of ſuſpicion. The Duke *Marlborough*, and the Lord *Godolphin*, lived ſtill in friendſhips with him, and ſtudied to overcome the jealouſies, that the Whigs had of him; for they generally believed, that he had adviſed the late King to the change he made in his Miniſtry, towards the end of his Reign. He ſeemed not to be concerned at the diſtance, in which he was kept from buſineſs; but in the late Trial, he left the Whigs in every Vote; and a few days after the Parliament was prorogued, the Queen, without communicating the matter to any of her Miniſters, took the *Chamberlain's* White Staff from the Marquis of *Kent*, (whom in recompence for that ſhe advanced to be a Duke) and gave it to the Duke of *Shrewsbury*. This gave a great Alarm; for it was upon that concluded, that a total change of the Miniſtry would quickly

Duke of *Shrewsbury* made *Lord Chamberlain*.

ly follow; the change of Principles, that he had discovered in the Trial, was imputed to a secret management between him and *Harley*, with the new Favourite. The Queen's inclination to her, and her alienation from the Dutchess of *Marlborough*, did encrease, and broke out in many little things, not worth naming: Upon that, the Dutchess retired from the Court, and appeared no more at it. The Duke of *Shrewsbury* gave the Ministers very positive assurances, that his Principles were the same they had been during the last Reign, and were in no respect altered: Upon which, he desired to enter into Confidences with them; but there was now too much ground given for suspicion. 1710.

During this Winter, I was encouraged by the Queen, to speak more freely to her of her affairs, than I had ever ventured to do formerly; I told her what reports were secretly spread of her, thro' the Nation, as if she favoured the design of bringing the *Pretender*, to succeed to the Crown, upon a bargain that she should hold it during her Life: I was sure these reports were spread about by Persons, who were in the confidence of those, that were believed to know her mind; I was well assured, that the *Jacobites* of *Scotland* had, upon her coming to the Crown, sent up one *Ogilby* of *Boyne*, who was in great esteem among them, to propose the bargain to her; he, when he went back, gave the Party full assu- The Queen was spoken to with great Freedom.

1710. assurances that she accepted of it: this I had from some of the Lords of *Scotland*, who were then in the secret with the professed *Jacobites*. The Earl of *Cromarty* made a Speech in Parliament, as was formerly mentioned, contradicting this, and alluding to the distinction of the *Calvinists*, between the secret and the revealed Will of God; he assured them, the Queen had no secret Will, contrary to that which she declared: Yet at the same time his Brother gave the Party assurances to the contrary. I told the Queen all this; and said, if she was capable of making such a bargain for herself, by which her People were to be delivered up, and sacrificed after her death, as it would darken all the Glory of Reign, so it must set all her People to consider of the most proper ways of securing themselves, by bringing over the Protestant Successors; in which, I told her plainly I would concur, if she did not take effectual means to extinguish those jealousies. I told her, her Ministers had served her with that fidelity, and such success, that her making a change among them would amaze all the World. The Glory of Queen *Elizabeth*'s Reign arose from the firmness of her Councils, and the continuance of her Ministers, as the three last Reigns, in which the Ministry was often changed, had suffered extremely by it. I also shewed her, that if she suffered the *Pretender*'s Party to prepare the Nation, for his succeeding her, she ought not to ima-

imagine that when they thought they had fixed that matter, they would ſtay for the natural end of her life; but that they would find ways to ſhorten it: nor did I think it was to be doubted, but that in 1708, when the *Pretender* was upon the Sea, they had laid ſome Aſſaſſins here, who, upon the News of his landing, would have tried to diſpatch her. It was certain, that their Intereſt led them to it, as it was known that their Principles did allow of it. This, with a great deal more to the ſame purpoſe, I laid before the Queen: ſhe heard me patiently; ſhe was for the moſt part ſilent: yet, by what ſhe ſaid, ſhe ſeemed deſirous to make me think, ſhe agreed to what I laid before her; but I found afterwards it had no effect upon her: Yet I had great quiet in my own mind, ſince I had, with an honeſt freedom, made the beſt uſe I could of the acceſs I had to her. 1710.

Affairs in *Flanders*.

The Duke of *Marlborough* went beyond Sea in *February*, to prepare all matters for an early Campaign, deſigning to open it in *April*, which was done: The *French* had wrought ſo long upon their Lines, that it was thought, they would have taken as much care in maintaining them; but upon the advance of our Army, they abandoned them. And tho' they ſeemed reſolved to make a ſtand upon the *Scarp*, yet they ran from that likewiſe; and this opened the way all on to *Doway*: So that was inveſted.

The

1710. The Garriſon was 8000 ſtrong, well furniſhed with every thing neceſſary to make a brave Defence; the Beſieged ſallied out often, ſometimes with advantage, but much oftener with loſs; it was the middle of *May* before the *French* could bring their Army together; it appeared, that they reſolved to ſtand upon the defenſive, tho' they had brought up together a vaſt Army of two Hundred Battallions, and three Hundred Squadrons: They lay before *Arras*, and advanced to the Plains of *Lens*: *Villars* commanded, and made ſuch Speeches to his Army, that it was generally believed, he would venture on a Battle, rather than look on and ſee *Doway* loſt. The Duke of *Marlborough* and Prince *Eugene* poſted their Army ſo advantageouſly, both to cover the Siege, and to receive the Enemy, that he durſt not attack them; but after he had looked on a few days, in which the two Armies were not above a League diſtant, he drew off: So the Siege going on, and no Relief appearing, both *Doway* and the *Fort Eſcarp* capitulated on the 14th of *June*.

Doway beſieged & taken.

The Hiſtory continued to the Peace.

I have now compleated my firſt deſign in writing, which was to give a Hiſtory of our Affairs for fifty Years, from the 29th of *May* 1660: So if I confined my ſelf to that, I ſhould here give over: But the War ſeeming now to be near an end, and the Peace, in which it muſt end, being that which

which will probably give a new Settlement to all *Europe*, as well to our Affairs, I reſolve to carry on this Work to the Concluſion of the War. And therefore I begin with the progreſs of the Negotiations for Peace, which ſeemed now to be proſecuted with warmth. 1710.

Negotiations for a Peace.

All the former Winter, an intercourſe of Letters was kept up between *Pettecum* and *Torcy*, to try if an Expedient could be found, to ſoften that Article, for the reduction of *Spain*, to the obedience of King *Charles*; which was the Thirty-ſeventh Article of the Preliminaries: It ſtill was kept in agitation upon the foot of offering three Towns, to be put into the hands of the Allies, to be reſtored by them, when the Affairs of *Spain* ſhould be ſettled; otherwiſe to be ſtill retained by them. The meaning of which was no other, than that *France* was willing to loſe three more Towns, in caſe King *Philip* ſhould keep *Spain* and the *Weſt Indies*: The Places therefore ought to have born ſome equality to that, for which they were to be given in pawn; but the Anſwers the *French* made to every Propoſition, ſhewed they meant nothing but to amuſe and diſtract the Allies. The firſt Demand the Allies made, was of the Places in *Spain*, then in the hands of the King of *France*; for the delivering up theſe, might have been a good ſtep to the Reduction of the whole: But this was flatly refuſed; and, that the King of *France*

1710. might put it out of his power to treat about it, he ordered his Troops to be drawn out of all the ſtrong Places of *Spain*, and ſoon after out of that Kingdom, pretending he was thereby evacuating it; tho' the *French* Forces were kept ſtill in the Neighbourhood. So a ſhew was made of leaving *Spain* to defend itſelf; and upon that, King *Philip* prevailed on the *Spaniards*, to make great efforts, beyond what was ever expected of them. This was done by the *French* King, to deceive both the Allies and his own Subjects, who were calling loudly for a Peace: And it likewiſe eaſed him of a great part of the charge, that *Spain* had put him to. But while his Troops were called out of that Kingdom, as many deſerted, by a viſible connivance, as made up ſeveral Battalions: And all the *Walloon* Regiments, as being Subjects of *Spain*, were ſent thither: So that King *Philip* was not weakened by the recalling the *French* Troops; and by this means, the Places in *Spain* could not be any more demanded. The next, as moſt important towards the Reduction of *Spain*, was the Demand that *Bayonne* and *Perpignan* might be put into the hands of the Allies, with *Thionville* on the ſide of the Empire. By the two former, all Communication between *France* and *Spain* would be cut off, and the Allies would be enabled to ſend Forces thither, with leſs Expence and Trouble: But it was ſaid, theſe were the Keys of *France*, which

which the King could not part with; ſo it remained to treat of Towns on the Frontier of the *Netherlands*; and even there they excepted *Doway*, *Arras*, and *Cambray*: ſo that all their Offers appeared illuſory; and the intercourſe by Letters was for ſome time let fall. But in the end of the former Year, *Torcy* wrote to *Pettecum*, to deſire, either that Paſſes might be granted to ſome Miniſters to come to *Holland*, to go on with the Negotiation, or that *Pettecum* might be ſuffered to go to *Paris*, to ſee if an Expedient could be found: and the *States* conſented to the laſt. In the mean while, King *Philip* publiſhed a *Manifeſto*, proteſting againſt all that ſhould be tranſacted at the *Hague*, to his prejudice; declaring his Reſolution to adhere to his faithful *Spaniards*: He alſo named Plenipotentiaries, to go in his name to the Treaty, who gave the *States* notice of their Powers and Inſtructions; and, in a Letter to the Duke of *Marlborough*, they gave intimations, how grateful King *Philip* would be to him, if by his means theſe his deſires might be complied with; as the like inſinuations had been often made by the *French* Agents: But no notice was taken of this Meſſage from King *Philip*, nor was any Anſwer given to it. *Pettecum*, after ſome days ſtay at *Paris*, came back without the pretence of offering any Expedient, but brought a Paper, that ſeemed to ſet aſide the Preliminaries: yet it ſet forth, that the 1710.

1710. King was willing to treat on the Foundation of the Conceſſions made in them to the Allies; and that the execution of all the Articles ſhould begin after the Ratification. This deſtroyed all that had been hitherto done; and the diſtinction, the King had formerly made, between the Spirit and the Letter of the *Partition Treaty*, ſhewed how little he was to be relied on: So the *States* reſolved to inſiſt, both on the Preliminaries, and on the execution of them, before a general Treaty ſhould be opened. By this Meſſage, all thoughts of a Treaty were at a full ſtand. In the beginning of *February* another Project was ſent, which was an amplification of that, brought by *Pettecum*; only the reſtoring the two Electors was inſiſted on as a Preliminary, as alſo the reſtoring the Upper Palatinate to the Elector of *Bavaria*; but the Allies ſtill inſiſted on the former Preliminaries. The Court of *France* ſeeing, that the *States* were not to be wrought on, to go off from the Preliminaries, ſent another Meſſage to them, that the King agreed to all the Preliminaries, except the Thirty-ſeventh; and if they would conſent, that his Miniſters ſhould come and confer with them upon that Article, he did not doubt, but what ſhould be propoſed from him, would be to their ſatisfaction. This ſeemed to give ſome hopes, ſo the *States* reſolved to ſend the Paſſports; but they foreſaw the ill effects, of ſuffering the *French* Miniſters to come into thier

their Country, who, by their Agents, were every where ſtirring up the People againſt the Government, as if they were prolonging the War without neceſſity; ſo they appointed *Gertruydenberg* to be the place, to which the *French* Miniſters were to come, to treat with the Deputies they ſhould ſend to meet them. 1710.

Conferences at *Gertruydenberg.*

The Miniſters ſent by *France*, were the Marquis *d' Uxelles* and the Abbot *de Polignac*; and thoſe from the *States*, were *Buys* and *Vanderduſſen*: The Conferences began in *March*. The *French* propoſed, that the Dominions in *Italy*, with the Iſlands, ſhould be given to one of the Competitors for the *Spaniſh* Monarchy, without naming which; but it was underſtood, that they meant King *Philip*: The Deputies did not abſolutely reject this; but ſhewed, that the Emperor would never conſent to parting with *Naples*, nor giving the *French* ſuch footing in *Italy*; the *French* ſeemed to be ſenſible of this. The firſt Conference ended, upon the return of the Courier, whom they ſent to *Verſailles*, they moved for another Conference; and upon ſeveral Propoſitions, there were ſeveral Conferences renewed. The King of *France* deſiſted from the demand of *Naples*, but inſiſted on that of the Places on the Coaſt of *Tuſcany*: At laſt they deſiſted from that too, and inſiſted only on *Sicily* and *Sardinia*: So now the Partition ſeemed as it were ſettled. Upon which, the Deputies of the *States* preſſed the Miniſters of *France* to

1710. give them ſolid Aſſurances of King *Philip*'s quitting *Spain* and the *Weſt-Indies*; to this (upon advertiſement given to the Court of *France*) they anſwered, that the King would enter into meaſures with them to force it. Many difficulties were ſtarted, about the Troops to be imployed, what their number ſhould be, and who ſhould command them; all which ſhewed the execution would prove impracticable. Then they talked of a Sum of Money, to be paid annually, during the War; and here new difficulties aroſe, both in ſettling the Sum, and in ſecuring the Payment: They offered the Bankers of *Paris*; but theſe muſt all break, whenſoever the King had a mind they ſhould: So it plainly appeared, all was intended only to divide the Allies, by this offer of a Partition, to which the *States* conſented; and at which, the *French* hoped the Houſe of *Auſtria* would have been provoked againſt them. The *French* asked an aſſurance of the Deputies, that no other Articles ſhould be inſiſted on, but thoſe in the Preliminaries; this the Deputies poſitively refuſed; for they had, by one of the Preliminaries, reſerved a power to all the Allies to make farther Demands, when a general Treaty ſhould be opened; they ſaid, they themſelves would demand no more, but they could not limit the reſt, from their juſt demands. This was another Artifice, to provoke the Empire, and the Duke of *Savoy*, as if the *States* intended to force them to accept of ſuch a Peace, as they

they ſhould preſcribe: In another Conference, the *States* rejected the offer of a Sum of Money, for carrying on the War in *Spain*, and therefore demanded, that the *French* would explain themſelves upon the ſubject of evacuating *Spain* and the *Weſt-Indies*, in favour of King *Charles*, before they could declare their intentions, with relation to the Partition; & added, that all further Conferences would be to no purpoſe, till that was done. 1710.

All came to no concluſion.

The *French* were now reſolved to break off the Negotiation; and ſo they were pleaſed to call this Demand of the *States*, a formal rupture of the Treaty; and upon the return of an Expreſs, that they ſent to *Verſailles*, they wrote a long Letter to the Penſioner, in the form of a Manifeſto; and ſo returned back to *France*, in the end of *July*. This is the Account, that both our Miniſters here, and the *States* have publiſhed of that Affair: The *French* have publiſhed nothing; for they would not own to the *Spaniards*, that they ever entered upon any Treaty, for a Partition of their Monarchy, much leſs for evacuating *Spain*. Whether *France* did ever deſign any thing, by all this Negotiation, but to quiet their own People, and to amuſe and divide the Allies, is yet to us a ſecret; but if they ever intended a Peace, the reaſon of their going off from it, muſt have been the Account they then had of our diſtractions in *England*; which might make them conclude, that we would not be in a condition to carry on the War. *

* Letters ſent then to *Holland*, from good hands in *France*, ſaid they were ſure of carrying their point in *England*, by a change of the Miniſters, & meaſures of that Court.

A change of the Miniſtry in *England.*

The Queen's intentions to make a change in her Miniſtry now began to break out. In *June* ſhe diſmiſſed the Earl of *Sunderland* from being Secretary of State; without pretending any malverſation in him, and gave the Seals to the Lord *Dartmouth*. This gave the Alarm, both at home and abroad; but the Queen, to leſſen that, ſaid to her Subjects here, in particular to the Governours of the Bank of *England*, and wrote to her Miniſters abroad, that they ſhould aſſure her Allies, that ſhe would make no other changes; and ſaid this herſelf to the Miniſters, whom the *States* had here. All theſe concurred to expreſs their joy in this Reſolution, and joined to it their Advice, that ſhe would not diſſolve the Parliament. This was repreſented by thoſe, who had never been verſed in the Negotiations of Princes in Alliance, as a bold intruding into the Queen's Counſels; tho' nothing is more common than for Princes to offer mutual advices, in ſuch caſes. Two Months after the change of the Secretary of State, the Queen diſmiſſed the Earl of *Godolphin*, from being Lord Treaſurer, and put the Treaſury in Commiſſion: Lord *Powlet* was the firſt in form, but Mr. *Harley* was the Perſon, with whom the Secret was lodged: and it was viſible, he was the Chief Miniſter: and now it appeared, that a total change of the Miniſtry, and the diſſolution of the Parliament, were reſolved on.

In the mean while *Sacheverel*, being preſented

ſented to a Benefice in *North Wales*, went down to take poſſeſſion of it: as he paſſed thro' the Counties, both going and coming, he was received and followed by ſuch numbers, and entertained with ſuch magnificence, that our Princes in their Progreſſes have not been more run after, than he was: Great fury and violence appeared, on many occaſions, tho' care was taken to give his followers no ſort of provocation: He was looked on as the Champion of the Church; and he ſhewed as much inſolence on that occaſion, as his Party did folly. No notice was taken, by the Government, of all theſe Riots; they were rather favoured and encouraged than check'd; all this was like a prelude to a greater ſcene, that was to be acted at Court. The Queen came in *October* to Council, and called for a Proclamation, diſſolving the Parliament, which *Harcourt* (now made Attorney-General in the room of *Montague*, who had quitted that poſt) had prepared: when it was read, the Lord Chancellor offered to ſpeak; but the Queen roſe up, and would admit of no Debate, and ordered the Writs for a new Parliament to be prepared. At that time ſhe diſmiſſed the Lord *Somers*, and in his room made the Earl of *Rochester* Lord Preſident of the Council: She ſent to the Duke of *Devonſhire*, for the Lord Steward's Staff, and gave it to the Duke of *Buckingham*; Mr. *Boyle* was diſmiſſed from being Secretary of State, and Mr. *St. John* had the Seals: The Earl of *Derby* was re-

1710.

Sacheverel's Progreſs to *Wales*.

1710. removed from being Chancellor of the Dutchy of *Lancaſter*, and was ſucceeded by the Lord *Berkeley*. The Lord Chancellor came, upon all theſe Removes, and delivered up the Great Seal; the Queen did not look for this, and was ſurprized at it; and not knowing how to diſpoſe of it, ſhe, with an unuſual earneſtneſs, preſſed him to keep it one day longer; and the day following, ſhe having conſidered the matter with her Favourites Mrs. *Maſham* and Mr. *Harley*, received it very readily; and it was ſoon given to Sir *Simon Harcourt*. The Earl of *Wharton* delivered up his Commiſſion of Lord Lieutenant of *Ireland*; and that was given to the Duke of *Ormond*: and the Earl of *Orford*, with ſome of the Commiſſioners of the Admiralty, withdrew from that Board, in whoſe room others were put. So ſudden, and ſo entire a change of the Miniſtry, is ſcarce to be found in our Hiſtory, eſpecially where Men of great Abilities had ſerved, both with zeal and ſucceſs, inſomuch, that the adminiſtration of all affairs, at home and abroad, in their hands, was not only without exception, but had raiſed the admiration of all *Europe*. All this roſe purely from the great credit of the new Favourites, and the Queen's perſonal diſtaſte to the old ones. The Queen was much delighted with all theſe changes, and ſeemed to think ſhe was freed from the chains the old Miniſtry held her in: She ſpoke of it to ſeveral Perſons as a captivity, ſhe had been long under

under. The Duke of *Somerset* had very much alienated the Queen from the old Miniſtry, and had no ſmall ſhare in their diſgrace; but he was ſo diſpleaſed with the diſſolution of the Parliament, and the new Model of the Miniſtry, that, tho' he continued ſome time Maſter of the Horſe, he refuſed to ſit any more in Council, and complained openly of the artifices, that had been uſed, to make him inſtrumental to other People's deſigns, which he did amongothers to myſelf. 1710.

The next, and indeed the greateſt care of the new Miniſtry was, the managing the Elections to Parliament. Unheard-of methods were uſed to ſecure them; in *London*, and in all the parts of *England*, but more remarkably in the great Cities, there was a vaſt concourſe of rude multitudes brought together, who behaved themſelves in ſo boiſterous a manner, that it was not ſafe, and in many places not poſſible, for thoſe who had a right to vote, to come and give their Votes for a Whigs: Open violence was uſed in ſeveral parts: This was ſo general, thro' the whole Kingdom, all at the ſame time, that it was viſible the thing had been for ſome time concerted, and the proper methods and tools had been prepared for it. The Clergy had a great ſhare in this; for beſides a courſe, for ſome Months, of inflaming Sermons, they went about from houſe to houſe preſſing their People to ſhew, on this great occaſion, their Zeal for the Church, and now or never to ſave it: They alſo told them, The Elections of Parliament-Men.

in

1710. in what ill hands the Queen had been kept, as in captivity, and that it was a charity, as well as their duty, to free her from the Power the late Miniſtry exerciſed over her.

While the Poll was taken in *London*, a new Commiſſion for the Lieutenancy of the City was ſent in; by which a great change was made; Tories were put in, and Whigs were left out: In a word, the practice and violence uſed now in Elections, went far beyond any thing, that I had ever known in *England*: And by ſuch means, above three parts in four of the Members returned to Parliament, may at any time be packed: And, if free Elections are neceſſary to the Being of a Parliament, there was great reaſon to doubt, if this was a true Repreſentative duly elected.

A Sinking of Credit.

The Bank was the Body, to which the Government of late had recourſe, and was always readily furniſhed by it; but their Credit was now ſo ſunk, that they could not do as they had done formerly; Actions, that ſome Months before were at 130, ſunk now ſo low as to 95, and did not riſe above 101 or 102, all the following Winter. The new Miniſters gave it out, that they would act moderately at home, and ſteadily abroad, maintain our Alliances, and carry on the War. But before I enter on the Seſſion of Parliament, I will give an account of Affairs abroad.

King

King *Philip* went to *Arragon* to his Army, and gave it out, that he was reſolved to put all to the deciſion of a Battle with King *Charles*, who was likewiſe come to head his Army; they lay ſo near one another, that King *Philip* cannonaded the Camp of his Enemies, but his Men were beat off with loſs, and drew away to a greater diſtance; however, before the end of *July*, there was an Action of great importance near *Almenara*: The main Body of King *Philip*'s Horſe deſigned to cut off a part of King *Charles*'s Foot, that was ſeparated from the Cavalry, commanded by *Stanhope*: He drew his whole Body together; and tho' he was much inferiour in number, yet he ſent to King *Charles* for Orders, to engage the Enemy. It was not without ſome difficulty, and after ſome re-iterated preſſing inſtances, that he got leave to fall on. 1710. Affairs in *Spain*.

As the two Bodies were advancing one againſt another, *Stanhope* rode at the head of his Body, and the *Spaniſh* General advanced at the head of his Troops; The two Generals began the Action; in which, very happily for *Stanhope*, he killed the *Spaniard*: And his Men, animated with the Example and ſucceſs of their General, fell on and broke the *Spaniſh* Horſe ſo entirely, that King *Philip* loſt the beſt part of his Cavalry in that Action; upon which, he retired towards *Saragoza*; but was cloſely followed by King *Charles*: And on the 20th of *Auguſt*, they came to a total Engagement, The Battle of *Almenara*.

1710. gagement, which ended in an entire Defeat: And by this means *Arragon* was again in King *Charles's* hands. King *Philip* got off with a very ſmall Body to *Madrid*. But he ſoon left it, and retired with all the Tribunals following him to *Valladolid*; and ſent his Queen and Son to *Victoria*. Some of his Troops got off in ſmall Bodies; and theſe were, in a little time brought together, to the number of about 10000 Men; the Troops, that they had on the Frontier of *Portugal*, were brought to join them, with which they ſoon made up the face of an Army.

K. *Charles* at *Madrid*.

King *Charles* made all the haſte he could to *Madrid*, but found none of the Grandees there; and it appeared, that the *Caſtilians* were firmly united to King *Philip*, and reſolved to adhere to him, at all hazards. The King of *France* now ſhewed, he was reſolved to maintain his Grandſon, ſince if he had ever intended to do it, it was now very eaſy to oblige him to evacuate *Spain*. On the contrary, he ſent the Duke of *Vendome*, to command the Army there; and he ordered ſome Troops to march into *Catalonia*, to force King *Charles* to come back, and ſecure that Principality. King *Charles* continued till the beginning of *December* in *Caſtile*. In all that time, no care was taken by the Allies, to ſupply or ſupport him: We were ſo engaged in our Party-matters at home, that we ſeemed to take no thought of things abroad, and without us nothing could be

be done: The Court of *Vienna* was ſo apprehenſive of the danger from a War, like to break out, between the *Grand Seignior* and the *Czar*, that they would not diminiſh their Army in *Hungary*. After King *Charles* left his Army, *Staremberg* ſeemed reſolved to take his Winter Quarters in *Caſtile*, and made a ſhew of fortifying *Toledo*; but for want of Proviſion, and chiefly for fear that his Retreat to *Arragon* might be cut off, he reſolved to march back to the *Ebro*: King *Philip* marched after him. *Staremberg* left *Stanhope* ſome hours March behind him, and he took up his Quarters in an unfortified Village, called *Bribuega*: But finding King *Philip* was near him, he ſent his *Aid de Camp* to let *Staremberg* know his danger, and to deſire his aſſiſtance. *Staremberg* might have come in time to have ſaved him; but he moved ſo ſlowly, that it was conjectured, he envied the glory *Stanhope* had got, and was not ſorry to ſee it eclipſed; and therefore made not that haſte, he might and ought to have done. 1710.

Stanhope and his Men caſt up Entrenchments, and defended theſe very bravely, as long as their powder laſted; but in concluſion they were forced to ſurrender themſelves Priſoners of War: Some hours after that, *Staremberg* came up; and tho' the Enemy were more than double his number, yet he attack'd them with ſuch Succeſs, that he defeated them quite, killed 7000 of their Men, took their Cannon and Baggage, and The Battle of *Villa Vicioſa*.

1710. and ſtaid a whole day in the Field of Battle. The Enemy drew back; but *Starembergh* had ſuffered ſo much in the Action, that he was not in a condition to purſue them; nor could he carry off their Cannon for want of Horſes; but he nailed them up, and by ſlow Marches got to *Saragoza*, the Enemy not thinking it convenient to give him any diſturbance. As he did not judge it ſafe, to ſtay long in *Arragon*, ſo, in the beginning of *January*, he marched into *Catalonia*; but his Army had ſuffered ſo much, both in the laſt Action at *Villa Vicioſa* and in the March, that he was not in a condition to venture on raiſing the Siege of *Gironne*; which was then carried on by the Duke of *Noailles*: And no relief coming, the Garriſon, after a brave defence, was forced to capitulate; and by this means *Catalonia* was open to the Enemy on all ſides.

Diſgrace of the Duke of *Medina-Celi.*

The *Spaniſh* Grandees ſeemed to be in ſome apprehenſions, of their being given up by the *French*; and there was a ſuſpicion of ſome caballing among them: Upon which, the Duke of *Medina-Celi*, King *Philip*'s chief Miniſter, was ſent a cloſe Priſoner to the Caſtle of *Segovia*, and was kept there very ſtrictly, none being admitted to ſpeak to him. He was not brought to any examination; but after he had been for ſome months in priſon, being oft removed from one place to another, it was at laſt given out, that he died in priſon, not without the ſuſpicion of ill practices. Nothing paſſed on the ſide of *Pied-*

Piedmont, the Duke of *Savoy* complaining ſtill of the Imperial Court, and upon that refuſing to act vigorouſly. 1710.

After *Douay* was taken, our Army ſate down before *Bethune*; and that Siege held them a Month, at the end of which the Garriſon capitulated: And our Army ſate down at one and the ſame time, before *Aire* and *St. Venant*, to ſecure the Head of the *Lys*. *St. Venant* was taken in a few weeks; but the marſhy ground about *Aire*, made that a ſlower work: ſo that the Siege continued there about two Months, before the Garriſon capitulated. This Campaign, tho' not of ſuch luſtre as the former, becauſe no Battle was fought, yet was by military Men looked on as a very extraordinary one in this reſpect, that our Men were about an hundred and fifty days in open Trenches; which was ſaid to be a thing without example. During theſe Sieges, the *French* Army poſted themſelves in ſure Camps; but did not ſtir out of them; and it was not poſſible to engage them into any Action. Nothing conſiderable paſſed on the *Rhine*, they being equally unable to enter upon action on both ſides. *Bethune*, *Aire* and *St. Venant* are taken.

The *Czar* carried on the War in *Livonia* with ſuch ſucceſs, that he took both *Riga* and *Revel*; and to add to the miſeries of *Sweden*, a great Plague ſwept away many of their People. *Sweden* itſelf was left expoſed to the *Danes* and the *Czar*; but their Dominions in *Germany* were ſecured Affairs in the North.

1710. by the Guaranty of the Allies: Yet tho' the Government of *Sweden* did accept of this provisionally, till the King's pleasure should be known, it was not without difficulty, that he was prevailed on to give way to it.

The new Parliament opened.

I come now to give an Account of the Session of Parliament, which was opened the 25th of *November*: The Queen, in her Speech, took no notice of the Successes of this Campaign, as she had always done in her former Speeches; and instead of promising to maintain the Toleration, she said she would maintain the Indulgence granted by Law to scrupulous Consciences: This change of phrase into *Sacheverel*'s language was much observed. The Lords made an Address of an odd composition to her, which shewed it was not drawn by those, who had penned their former Addresses: Instead of promising, that they would do all that was possible, they only promised to do all that was reasonable; which seemed to import a Limitation, as if they had apprehended, that unreasonable things might be asked of them: And the conclusion was in a very cold strain of Rhetorick; they ended with saying, *They had no more to add*. The Commons were more hearty in their Address; and in the end of it, they reflected on some late practices against the Church and State. *Bromley* was chosen Speaker without any opposition; there were few Whigs returned, against whom Petitions were

were not offered; there were in all about an Hundred; and by the first steps, the Majority made it appear, that they intended to clear the House of all, who were suspected to be Whigs. They passed the Bill for four Shillings in the Pound, before the short Recess at *Christmas*. 1710.

During that time, the news came of the ill Success in *Spain*; and this giving a handle to examine into that part of our conduct, the Queen was advised to lay hold on it; so, without staying till she heard from her own Ministers or her Allies, as was usual, she laid the matter before the Parliament, as the publick News brought it from *Paris*; which was afterwards found to be false in many particulars; and told them, what Orders she had given upon it, of which she hoped they would approve. This was a mean expression from the Sovereign, not used in former messages, and seemed to be below the Dignity of the Crown. She ordered some Regiments to be carried over to *Spain*, and named the Earl of *Peterborough*, to go to the Court of *Vienna*, to press them to join in the most effectual measures, for supporting King *Charles* there. The Lords, in their Answer to this Message, promised that they would examine into the Conduct of the War in *Spain*, to see if there had been any mismanagement, in any part of it: And they entred immediately into that enquiry. They began it with 1711.

The Conduct in *Spain* censured by the Lords.

1711. an Addreſs to the Queen, to delay the diſpatch of the Earl of *Peterborough*, till the Houſe might receive from him ſuch informations of the Affairs of *Spain*, as he could give them. This was readily granted, and he gave the Houſe a long Recital of the Affairs of *Spain*, loading the Earl of *Gallway* with all the miſcarriages in that War. And in particular he ſaid that in a Council of War in *Valencia*, in the middle of *January* 1706-7, the Earl of *Gallway* had preſſed the puſhing an offenſive War that year; and that the Lord *Tyrawly* and *Stanhope* had concurred with him in that: Whereas he himſelf was for dying on a defenſive War for that year in *Spain*. He ſaid, this Reſolution was carried by thoſe three, againſt the King of *Spain*'s own mind; and he imputed all the misfortunes that followed in *Spain*, to this Reſolution ſo taken. *Stanhope* had given an Account of the Debates in that Council to the Queen; and the Earl of *Sunderland*, in anſwer to his Letter, had wrote by the Queen's Order, that ſhe approved of their preſſing for an offenſive War; and they were ordered to perſiſt in that. The Earl of *Sunderland* ſaid, in that Letter, that the Queen took notice, that they three (meaning the Earl of *Gallway*, Lord *Tyrawly*, and *Stanhope*) were the only Perſons that were for acting offenſively: And that little regard was to be had to the Earl of *Peterborough*'s oppoſition. Upon the ſtrength of

of this Letter the Earl of *Peterborough* affirmed, that the whole Council of War was againſt an offenſive War: He laid the blame, not only of the Battle of *Almanza*, and all that followed in *Spain*, upon thoſe Reſolutions, but likewiſe the miſcarriage of the Deſign on *Toulon*; for he told them of a great Deſign, he had concerted with the Duke of *Savoy*, and of the uſe that might have been made of ſome of the Troops in *Spain*, if a defenſive War had been agreed to there. The Earl of *Gallway* and the Lord *Tyrawly* were ſent for; and they were asked an Account of that Council at *Valencia*: They ſaid, there were many Councils held there about that time; and that both the *Portuguese* Ambaſſador and General, and the Envoy of the *States* agreed with them in their opinions, for an offenſive War; and they named ſome *Spaniards*, that were of the ſame mind: They alſo ſaid, that all along, even to the Battle of *Almanza*, in all their Reſolutions, the Majority of the Council of War voted for every thing that was done, and that they were directed to perſiſt in their opinions, by Letters wrote to them, in the Queen's name, by the Secretaries of State: That as to the words, in the Earl of *Sunderland*'s Letter, that ſpoke of them, as the only Perſons that were of that opinion; theſe were underſtood by them, as belonging only to the Queen's Subjects, and that they related more immediately to 1711

1711. the Earl of *Peterborough*, who oppoſed that Reſolution, but not to the reſt of the Council of War; for the Majority of them was of their mind.

The Earl of *Gallway* gave in two Papers; the one related to his own Conduct in *Spain*; the other was an Anſwer to the Relation given in writing by the Earl of *Peterborough*. The Houſe of Lords was ſo diſpoſed, that the Majority believed every thing that was ſaid by the Earl of *Peterborough*; & it was carried, that his Account was honourable, faithful, and juſt; and that all the Misfortunes in *Spain* were the effect and conſequence of thoſe Reſolutions, taken in the middle of *January*.

From this Cenſure on the Earl of *Gallway*, the Debate was carried to that, which was chiefly aimed at, to put a Cenſure on the Miniſtry here. So it was moved, that an Addreſs ſhould be made to the Queen, to free thoſe, who were under an Oath of Secrecy, from that tie, that a full Account might be laid before the Houſe, of all their Conſultations. The Queen granted this readily; and came to the Houſe, which was underſtood to be on deſign to favour that, which was aimed at. Upon this the Duke of *Marlborough*, the Earls of *Godolphin* and *Sunderland*, and the Lord *Cowper* ſhewed that, conſidering the Force ſent over to *Spain* under the Lord *Rivers*, they thought an offenſive War was adviſeable; that the expence of that War was ſo great, and the

prospect was so promising, that they could not but think an offensive War necessary; and that to advise a defensive one, would have made them liable to a just censure, as designing to protract the War. The Design on *Toulon* was no way intermix'd with the affairs of *Spain*; the Earl of *Peterborough* fancied he was in that secret, and had indeed proposed the bringing over some Troops from *Spain* on that Design, and had offered a Scheme to the Duke of *Savoy*, in which that was mentioned, and had sent that over to *England*. But tho' the Duke of *Savoy* suffered that Lord to amuse himself, with his own project, which he had concerted for the Attempt on *Toulon*; that Duke had declared he would not undertake it, if it was not managed with the utmost secrecy, which was sacredly kept, and communicated only to those, to whom it must be trusted for the execution of it. No Troops from *Spain* were to be imployed in that service, nor did it miscarry for want of Men. These Lords farther said, they gave their opinions in Council, according to the best of their Judgment; their intentions were very sincere, for the service of the Queen, and to bring the War to a speedy Conclusion. Yet a Vote pass'd, that they were to blame for advising an offensive War in *Spain*, upon which the loss of the Battle of *Almanza* followed; and that this occasioned the miscarrying of the Design upon *Toulon*. 1711.

1711. Here was a new and ſtrange Precedent, of cenſuring a Reſolution taken in Council; and of deſiring the Queen to order all, that had paſs'd in Council, to be laid before the Houſe: In all the hot Debates in King *Charles* the Firſt's Reign, in which many Reſolutions taken in Council were juſtly cenſurable, yet the paſſing any Cenſure on them was never attempted by Men, who were no way partial in favour of the Prerogative: But they underſtood well what our Conſtitution was in that point: A Reſolution in Council is only the Sovereign's Act, who, upon hearing his Counſellors deliver their opinions, forms his own Reſolution: A Counſellor may indeed be liable to Cenſure, for what he may ſay at that Board; but the Reſolution taken there has been hitherto treated with a ſilent reſpect: but by this precedent, it will be hereafter ſubject to a Parliamentary enquiry. The Queen was ſo deſirous to have a Cenſure fix'd on her former Miniſtry, that ſhe did not enough conſider the wound given to the Prerogative, by the way in which it was done.

Reflections made on it.

After this was over, another enquiry was made into the Force we had in *Spain*, at the time of the Battle of *Almanza*; and it was found not to exceed 14000 Men, tho' the Parliament had voted 29000 for the War in *Spain*. This ſeemed to be a crying thing; tragical declamations were made upon it: But in truth that Vote had paſs'd here only in the *January* before the Battle of *Almanza*, which

which was fought on the 14th of *April*. 1711.
Now it was not poſſible to levy and tranſport Men in ſo ſhort a time: It was made appear, that all the money, given by the Parliament for that ſervice, was iſſued out and applied to it, and that extraordinary diligence was uſed, both in forwarding the Levies and in their Tranſportation: They were ſent from *Ireland*, the paſſage from thence being both ſafeſt and quickeſt. All this, and a great deal more to the ſame purpoſe, was ſaid: But it ſignified nothing; for when Reſolutions are taken up beforehand, the debating concerning them is only a piece of form uſed to come at the queſtion with ſome decency: And there was ſo little of that obſerved at this time, that the Duke of *Buckingham* ſaid in plain words, that they had the Majority, and would make uſe of it, as he had obſerved done by others, when they had it on their ſide. So, tho' no examination had been made, but into that ſingle point of the numbers at *Almanza*, they came to a general Vote, That the late Miniſtry had been negligent, in the management of the War in *Spain*, to the great prejudice of the Nation; and they then ordered all their Proceedings and Votes to be put in an Addreſs, and laid before the Queen. And tho' they had made no enquiry into the expence of that War, nor into the application of the Money, given by the Parliament for it, yet in their Addreſs they mentioned the great profuſion of Money in that ſervice. This

1711. they thought would touch the Nation very ſenſibly; and they hoped the thing would be eaſily believed on their word. Proteſts were made againſt every Vote, in the whole Progreſs of this matter: Some of theſe carried ſuch Reflections, on the Votes of the Houſe, that they were expunged.

A ſtrange way of Proceeding.

I never ſaw any thing carried on, in the Houſe of Lords, ſo little to their honour as this was; ſome, who voted with the reſt, ſeemed aſhamed of it: They ſaid, ſomewhat was to be done, to juſtify the Queen's change of the Miniſtry; & every thing elſewhere had been ſo well conducted, as to be above all cenſure: So the misfortune of *Almanza*, being a viſible thing, they reſolved to lay the Load there. The management of the publick Treaſure was exact and unexceptionable: ſo that the ſingle misfortune of the whole War was to be magnified; ſome were more eaſily drawn to concur in theſe Votes, becauſe by the Act of Grace, all thoſe, who had been concerned in the Adminiſtration, were covered from Proſecution and Puniſhment: So this was repreſented to ſome, as a compliment that would be very acceptable to the Queen, and by which no perſon could be hurt. They loaded ſingly the Earl of *Galloway*, with the loſs of the Battle of *Almanza*, tho' it was reſolved on in a Council of War, and he had behaved himſelf in it, with all the bravery and conduct that could be expected from a great General, and had made a good Retreat, and ſecured

ſecured *Catalonia*, with unexpreſſible diligence. They alſo cenſured him for not inſiſting on the point of Honour, in the Precedence to be given to the *Engliſh* Troops, as ſoon as the *Portugueze* Army entered into *Spain*: But, by our Treaty with that Crown, the Army was to be commanded by a *Portugueze* General; ſo it was not in his power to change the Order of the Army: If he had made the leaſt ſtruggle about it, the *Portugueze*, who were not eaſily prevailed on to enter into *Spain*, would have gladly enough laid hold of any occaſion, which ſuch a Diſpute would have given them, and have turned back upon it: And ſo by his inſiſting on ſuch a Punctilio, the whole Deſign would have been loſt. We had likewiſe, in our Treaty with them, yielded expreſſly the point of the Flag in thoſe Seas, for which alone, on other occaſions, we have engaged in Wars; ſo he had no reaſon to conteſt a leſſer point: Yet a Cenſure was likewiſe laid on this, And this was the concluſion of the enquiries, made by the Houſe of Lords this Seſſion. 1711.

Some Abuſes cenſured in the Houſe of Commons.

Harley, in the Houſe of Commons, led them to enquire into ſome Abuſes in the Victualling the Navy: They had been publickly practiſed for many years, ſome have ſaid ever ſince the Reſtoration: The abuſe was viſible, but connived at, that ſeveral expences might be anſwered that way: Some have ſaid, that the Captains Tables were kept out of the gain made in it. Yet a Member of the Houſe, who was a Whig, was complained of for

1711. for this, and expelled the Houſe; and a Proſecution was ordered againſt him: But the Abuſe goes on ſtill, as avowedly as ever. Here was a ſhew of zeal, and a ſeeming diſcovery of fraudulent practices, by which the Nation was deceived.

Supplies given for the War.

The money did not come into the Treaſury ſo readily as formerly, neither upon the Act of four Shillings in the Pound, nor on the Duty laid on Malt: So, to raiſe a quick Supply, there were two Bills paſs'd, for raiſing three Millions and a half by two Lotteries, the firſt of 1,500,000*l.* and the ſecond of two Millions, to be paid back in thirty-two years; and for a Fund, to anſwer this, Duties were laid on Hops, Candles, Leather, Cards and Dice, and on the Poſtage of Letters. In one branch of this, the Houſe of Commons ſeemed to break in upon a Rule, that had hitherto paſſed for a ſacred one: When the Duty upon Leather was firſt propoſed, it was rejected by a Majority, and ſo, by their uſual orders, it was not to be offered again, during that Seſſion: But after a little practice upon ſome Members, the ſame Duty was propoſed, with this variation, that Skins and tanned Hides ſhould be ſo charged; this was Leather in another name. The Lotteries were ſoon filled up; ſo, by this means, Money came into the Treaſury: and indeed this method has never yet failed of raiſing a ſpeedy Supply. There was no more asked, tho' in the beginning of this Seſſion, the Houſe had voted

ed a Million more, than theſe Bills amount- 1711.
ed to; which made ſome conclude, there was
a ſecret Negotiation and proſpect of a Peace.

As the Duke of *Marlborough* was involved in the general Cenſure paſſed on the former Miniſtry, ſo he had not the uſual Compliment of Thanks for the ſucceſſes of the former Campaign: When that was moved in the Houſe of Lords, it was oppoſed with ſuch eagerneſs by the Duke of *Argyle* and others, that it was let fall: For this the Duke of *Marlborough* was prepared by the Queen; who, upen his coming over, told him that he was not to expect the Thanks of the two Houſes, as had been formerly: She added, that ſhe expected he ſhould live well with her Miniſters, but did not think fit to ſay any thing of the reaſons ſhe had, for making thoſe changes in her Miniſtry. Yet he ſhewed no reſentments, for all the ill uſage he met with; and, having been much preſſed by the *States* and our other Allies, to continue in the Command of the Army, he told me, upon that account, he reſolved to be patient, and to ſubmit to every thing, in order to carrying on the War; and finding the Queen's prepoſſeſſion againſt his Dutcheſs was not to be overcome, he carried a ſurrender of all her Places to the Queen: She was Groom of the Stole, had the Robes, and the Privy Purſe; in all which, ſhe had ſerved with great oeconomy and fidelity to the Queen, and juſtice to thoſe, who

The Duke of *Marlborough* ſtill commanded our Armies.

1711. who dealt with the Crown. The Dutchess of *Somerset* had the two first of these Employments, and Mrs. *Masham* had the last.

Complaints upon the favour shewed the *Palatines*.

The House of Commons found the encouragement given the *Palatines*, was so displeasing to the People, that they ordered a Committee to examine into that matter. The Truth of this story was, that in the Year 1708, about fifty *Palatines*, who were *Lutherans*, and were ruined, came over to *England*: These were so effectually recommended to Prince *George*'s Chaplains, that the Queen allowed them a Shilling a-day, and took care to have them transported to the Plantations: They, ravished with this good reception, wrote over such an account of it, as occasioned a general disposition among all the Poor of that Country to come over, in search of better fortunes: And some of our Merchants, who were concerned in the Plantations, and knew the advantage of bringing over great numbers to people those desart Countries, encouraged them with the promises of Lands and settlements there. This being printed, and spread thro' those parts, they came to *Holland* in great Bodies: The Anabaptists there were particularly helpful to them, both in subsisting those in *Holland*, and in transporting them to *England*. Upon their coming over, the Queen relieved them at first; and great Charities were sent to support them: All the Tories declared against the

the good reception that was given them, as much as the Whigs approved of it. It happened at a bad ſeaſon, for Bread was then ſold at double the ordinary price; ſo the Poor complained, that ſuch Charities went to ſupport Strangers, when they needed them ſo much: The time of our Fleet's ſailing to the Plantations was likewiſe at a great diſtance. The *Palatines* expected to be all kept together in a Colony, and became very uneaſy, when they ſaw that could not be compaſſed: Some of them were both unactive and mutinous; and this heightened the outcry againſt them: Some Papiſts mixed among them, and came over with them; but they were preſently ſent back. Great numbers were ſent to *Ireland*; but moſt of them to the Plantations in *North America*, where it is believed their induſtry will quickly turn to a good account. The deſign was now formed, to load the late Adminiſtration all that was poſſible; ſo it was pretended, that in all that affair, there was a Deſign againſt the Church, and to encreaſe the numbers and ſtrength of the Diſſenters. It has indeed paſſed for an eſtabliſhed maxim, in all Ages, and in all Governments, that the drawing of numbers of People to any Nation, did increaſe its intrinſick ſtrength; which is only to be meaſured, by the multitude of the People, that inhabit and cultivate it: Yet the Houſe of Commons came to a ſudden Vote, That thoſe who had encourag'd and brought over the 1711.

1711. the *Palatines*, were Enemies to the Nation: And, becauſe a Letter, wrote by the Earl of *Sunderland*, in the Queen's Name, to the Council of Trade, was laid before them, by which they were order'd to conſider of the beſt methods of diſpoſing of them, it was moved to lay the load of that matter on him, in ſome ſevere Votes: Yet this was put off for that time; and afterwards by ſeveral Adjournments delay'd, till at laſt it was let fall.

A Bill to repeal the general Naturalization rejected by the Lords.

But while the heat, raiſed by this enquiry, was kept up; the Commons paſs'd a Bill to repeal the Act for a general Naturalization of all Proteſtants, which had paſs'd two years before, pretending that it gave the encouragement to the *Palatines* to come over, tho' none of them had made uſe of that Act, in order to their Naturalization. This was ſent up to the Lords; and the Lord *Guernſey*, and ſome others, entertained them with tragical Declamations on the ſubject; yet, upon the firſt reading of the Bill, it was rejected. A Bill, that was formerly often attempted, for diſabling Members of the Houſe of Commons to hold Places, had the ſame Fate.

A Bill qualifying Members to be choſen paſſed.

Another Bill, for qualifying Members, by having 600 *l.* a-year for a Knight of the Shire, and 300 *l.* a-year for a Burgeſs, ſucceeded better: The deſign of this was to exclude Courtiers, Military Men, and Merchants, from ſitting in the Houſe of Commons, in hopes that this being ſettled, the Land-

Land-intereſt would be the prevailing conſideration, in all their Conſultations. They did not extend theſe Qualifications to *Scotland*; it being pretended that Eſtates there, being generally ſmall, it would not be eaſy to find Men ſo qualified, capable to ſerve. This was thought to ſtrike at an eſſential part of our Conſtitution, touching the freedom of Elections: And it had been, as oft as it was attempted, oppoſed by the Miniſtry, tho' it had a fair appearance of ſecuring Liberty, when all was lodged with Men of Eſtates: Yet our Gentry was become ſo ignorant, and ſo corrupt, that many apprehended the ill effects of this, and that the Intereſt of Trade, which indeed ſupports that of the Land, would neither be underſtood nor regarded. But the new Miniſters reſolved to be popular with thoſe who promoted it; ſo it paſſed, and was much magnified, as a main part of our ſecurity for the future. 1711.

An Act for *French* Wine.

Another Bill paſſed, not much to the honour of thoſe who promoted it, for the Importation of the *French* Wine. The Intereſt of the Nation lay againſt this ſo viſibly, that nothing but the delicate Palates of thoſe, who loved that Liquor, could have carried ſuch a Motion thro' the two Houſes. But, tho' the Bill paſs'd, it was like to have no effect: For it was provided, that the Wine ſhould be imported in neutral Veſſels, and the King of *France* had forbid it to be exported, in any Veſſels

1711. but his own: it ſeems he reckoned, that our deſire of drinking his Wine, would carry us to take it on ſuch terms, as he ſhould preſcribe. In the Houſe of Commons there appeared a new combination of Tories, of the higheſt form, who thought the Court was yet in ſome management with the Whigs, and did not come up to their heighth, which they imputed to Mr. *Harley*; ſo they began to form themſelves in oppoſition to him, and expreſſed their jealouſy of him on ſeveral occaſions, ſometimes publickly. But an odd accident, that had almoſt been fatal, proved happy to him; it fell out on the 8th of *March*, the Day of the Queen's Acceſſion to the Crown: One *Guiſcard*, who was an Abbot in *France*, had for ſome enormous crimes made his eſcape out of that Kingdom; he printed a formal Story of a Deſign he was laying, to raiſe a general Inſurrection in the ſouthern parts of *France* (in conjunction with thoſe, who were then up in the *Cevennes*) for recovering their ancient Liberties, as well as for reſtoring the Edicts in favour of the *Huguenots*: And he ſeemed very zealous for publick Liberty. He inſinuated himſelf ſo into the Duke of *Savoy*, that he recommended him to our Court, as a Man capable of doing great ſervice: He ſeemed forward to undertake any thing, that he might be put on; he had a Penſion aſſigned him for ſome years, but it did not anſwer his expence; ſo when he was out of

An Attempt on *Harley* by *Guiſcard*.

of hope of getting it increaſed, he wrote to one at the Court of *France*, to offer his ſervice there; and it was thought, he had a Deſign againſt the Queen's perſon; for he had tried, by all the ways that he could contrive, to be admitted to ſpeak with her in private; which he had attempted that very morning: but his Letter being opened at the Poſt-houſe, and brought to the Cabinet Council, a Meſſenger was ſent from the Council, to ſeize on him. He found him walking in *St. James's* Park; and having diſarmed him, carried him to the Lords, who were then ſitting: As he waited without, before he was called in, he took up a penknife, which lay among pens in a ſtandiſh; when he was queſtioned upon his Letter, he deſired to ſpeak in private with Secretary *St. John*, who refuſed it; and he being placed out of his reach, whereas *Harley* ſate near him, he ſtruck him in the breaſt with the penknife, again and again, till it broke; and indeed wounded him as much as could be done, with ſo ſmall a tool. The other Counſellors drew their Swords, and ſtabbed *Guiſcard* in ſeveral places; and their Attendants being called in, they dragged him out. *Harley's* wound was preſently ſearched; it appeared to be a ſlight one, yet he was long in the Surgeon's hands: ſome imputed this to an ill habit of body; others thought it was an Artifice, to make it ſeem more dangerous than in- 1711.

1711. deed it was. *Guiscard*'s wounds were deeper, and not easily managed; for at first he was sullen, and seemed resolved to die; yet after a day, he submitted himself to the Surgeons: But did not complain of a wound in his back, till it gangrened; and of that he died. It was not known, what particulars were in his Letter, for various reports went of it; nor was it known what he confessed.

This Accident was of great use to *Harley*; for the Party formed against him, was ashamed to push a Man, who was thus assassinated by one, that was studying to recommend himself to the Court of *France*, and who was believed to have formed a Design against the Queen's person. Her Health was at this time much shaken. She had three fits of an Ague; the last was a severe one: but the progress of the Disease was stopped by the Bark.

A Design against King *William*'s Grants miscarries.

The Tories continued still to pursue the Memory of K. *William*; they complained of the Grants made by him, tho' these were far short of those, that had been made by King *Charles* the Second; but that they might distinguish between those, whom they intended to favour, and others, against whom they were set, they brought in a Bill, empowering some Persons to examine all the Grants made by him, and to report both the value of them, and the considerations upon which they were made: This was the method, that had succeeded with them before, with

with relation to *Ireland*; ſo the bringing in this Bill was looked on, as a ſure ſtep, for carrying the Reſumption of all the Grants, that they had a mind to make void. When it was brought up to the Lords, the Deſign appeared to be an unjuſt malice againſt the Memory of our Deliverer, and againſt thoſe, who had ſerved him beſt; ſo upon the firſt reading of the Bill, it was rejected. 1711.

Enquiries into the Accounts.

Their Malice turned next againſt the Earl of *Godolphin*: They found, that the Supplies given by Parliament were not all returned, and the Accounts of many Millions were not yet paſſed in the *Exchequer*; ſo they paſſed a Vote, that the Accounts of Thirty-five Millions yet ſtood out. This was a vaſt ſum; but to make it up, ſome Accounts in King *Charles*'s time were thrown into the heap; the Lord *Ranelagh*'s Accounts of the former Reign were the greateſt part; and it appeared, that in no time Accounts were ſo regularly brought up, as in the Queen's Reign. Mr. *Bridges*'s Accounts, of fourteen or fifteen Millions, were the great *Item*, of which, not above half a Million was paſſed: But there were Accounts of above eleven Millions brought in, tho' not paſs'd in form, thro' the great caution and exactneſs of the Duke of *Newcaſtle*, at whoſe Office they were to paſs; and he was very ſlow, and would allow nothing, without hearing Counſel on every Article. The truth is, the methods of paſſing Accounts were ſo ſure, that they were very ſlow; and it

1711. was not possible, for the proper Officers, to find time and leisure to pass the Accounts that were already in their hands. Upon this, tho' the Earl of *Godolphin* had managed the Treasury, with an uncorruptness, fidelity, and diligence, that were so unexceptionable, that it was not possible to fix any censure on his Administration; yet, because many Accounts stood out, they passed some angry Votes on that; But since nothing had appeared, in all the examination they had made, that reflected on him, or on any of the Whigs, they would not consent to the motion that was made for printing that Report; for by that, it would have appeared, who had served well, and who had served ill.

When this Session drew near an end, some were concerned to find, that a Body, chosen so much by the zeal and influence of the Clergy, should have done nothing for the good of the Church; so it being apparent, that in the Suburbs of *London*, there were about 200,000 People more, than could possibly worship God in the Churches built there, upon a Message to them from the Queen (to which the rise was given by an Address to her from the Convocation) they voted that fifty more Churches should be built; and laid the Charge of it, upon that part of the Duty on Coals, that had been reserved for building of *St. Paul's*, which was now finished.

In

In the beginning of *April* the *Dauphin* and the Emperor both died of the Small Pox; the firſt on the third, the ſecond on the ſixth of the Month: Time will ſhew what influence the one or the other will have on publick Affairs. The Electors were all reſolved to chuſe King *Charles* Emperor. A little before the Emperor's death, two great Affairs were fully ſettled; the differences between that Court and the Duke of *Savoy* were compoſed, to the Duke's ſatisfaction: The other was of more importance; Offers of Amneſty and Conceſſions were ſent to the Malecontents in *Hungary*, with which they were ſo well ſatisfied, that a full Peace was like to follow on it: And, leſt the news of the Emperor's Death ſhould be any ſtop to that ſettlement, it was kept up from them, till a Body of 10,000 came in and delivered up their Arms, with the Fort of *Caſſaw*, and took an Oath of Obedience to King *Charles*, which was the firſt notice they had of *Joſeph's* death. 1711.

The *Dauphin's* Death, and the Emperor's.

The Effects of this will probably go farther, than barely to the quieting of *Hungary*: For the King of *Sweden*, the *Crim Tartar*, and the Agents of *France* had ſo animated the *Turks* againſt the *Muſcovites*; that tho' the Sultan had no mind to engage in a new War, till the affairs of that Empire ſhould be put in a better ſtate; yet he was ſo apprehenſive of the Janizaries, that, much againſt his own inclinations, he was

War breaking out between the *Turk* and the *Czar*.

1711. brought to declare War againſt the *Czar*: But both the *Czar* and he ſeemed inclined to accept the Mediation, that was offered by *England* and by the *States*; to which very probably the *Turks* may the more eaſily be brought, when they ſee no hope of any advantage to be made, from the diſtractions in *Hungary*.

It did not yet appear, what would be undertaken on either ſide in *Spain*: King *Philip* had not yet opened the Campaign; but it was given out, that great preparations were made for a Siege: On the other hand, King *Charles* had great Reinforcements ſent him; ſo that his force was reckoned not inferiour to King *Philip*'s: Nor was it yet known, what Reſolution he had taken, ſince he received the news of the Emperor's Death.

The Campaign was now opened on both ſides in the *Netherlands*, tho' later than was intended: The Seaſon continued long ſo rainy, that all the ways in thoſe parts were impracticable: Nothing was yet attempted on either ſide; both Armies lay near one another; and both were ſo well poſted, that no Attack was yet made: And this was the preſent ſtate of Affairs abroad, at the end of *May*. At home Mr. *Harley* was created Earl of *Oxford*, and then made Lord High Treaſurer; and had now the ſupreme Favour: The Seſſion of Parliament was not yet at an end. There had been a great Project carried on, for a Trade into the *South Sea*;

Sea; and a Fund was projected, for paying the Intereſt of nine Millions, that were in arrear for our Marine Affairs. 1711.

From our temporal concerns, I turn to give an account of thoſe, which related to the Church: The Convocation of the Province of *Canterbury* was opened, the 25th of *November*, the ſame day in which the Parliament met: And *Atterbury* was choſen Prolocutor. Soon after, the Queen ſent a Licence to the Convocation, empowering them to enter upon ſuch conſultations, as the preſent ſtate of the Church required, and particularly to conſider of ſuch matters, as ſhe ſhould lay before them; limiting them to a *Quorum*, that the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, the Biſhop of *London*, or the Biſhop of *Bath and Wells*, ſhould be preſent, and agree to their Reſolutions. With this Licence, there was a Letter directed to the Archbiſhop, in which the Convocation was ordered, to lay before the Queen an account of the late exceſſive growth of Infidelity and Hereſy among us; and to conſider how to redreſs abuſes in Excommunications; how rural Deans might be made more effectual; how Terriers might be made and preſerved more exactly; and how the abuſes in Licences for Marriage might be corrected. The Convocation met.

In this whole matter, neither the Archbiſhop nor any of the Biſhops were ſo much as conſulted with; and ſome things in the Licence were new: The Archbiſhop was not named the Preſident of the Convocation, as was uſual in former Licences; Exceptions to the Licence ſent them.

1711. ces; and in theſe, the Archbiſhop's preſence and conſent alone was made neceſſary, except in caſe of ſickneſs, and then the Archbiſhop had named ſome Biſhops to preſide, as his Commiſſaries: And in that caſe, the Convocation was limited to his Commiſſaries, which ſtill lodged the Preſidentſhip and the Negative with the Archbiſhop: This was according to the primitive pattern, to limit the Clergy of a Province to do nothing, without the conſent of the Metropolitan; but it was a thing new and unheard-of, to limit the Convocation to any of their own Body, who had no Deputation from the Archbiſhop. So a Report of this being made, by a Committee that was appointed to ſearch the Records, it was laid before the Queen: And ſhe ſent us a Meſſage to let us know, that ſhe did not intend, that thoſe whom ſhe had named to be of the *Quorum*, ſhould either preſide or have a Negative upon our Deliberations, tho' the contrary was plainly inſinuated in the Licence. The Archbiſhop was ſo ill of the Gout that after our firſt Meetings, he could come no more to us; ſo was the Biſhop of *London*: upon which, the Biſhop of *Bath and Wells*, ſeeing how invidiouſly he was diſtinguiſhed form his Brethren, in which he had not been conſulted, pretended ill health; and we were at a ſtand, till a new Licence was ſent us, in which the Biſhops of *Winchester*, *Briſtol*, and *St. Davids*, were added to be of the *Quorum*. The two laſt were

A new Licence.

were newly consecrated, and had been in no Functions in the Church before: So the Queen, not only passed over all the Bishops, made in King *William*'s Reign, but a great many of those named by herself, and set the two last in a Distinction above all their Brethren. All this was directed by *Atterbury*, who had the confidence of the chief Minister; and because the other Bishops had maintained a good correspondence with the former Ministry, it was thought fit to put marks of the Queen's distrust upon them, that it might appear, with whom her Royal Favour and trust was lodged. 1711.

The Convocation entred on the consideration of the matters referred to them by the Queen: And a Committee was appointed, to draw a Representation of the present state of the Church, and of Religion among us; but after some heads were agreed on, *Atterbury* procured, that the drawing of this might be left to him: And he drew up a most virulent Declamation, defaming all the Administration, from the time of the Revolution: Into this he brought many impious principles and practices, that had been little heard of or known, but were now to be published, if this should be laid before the Queen. The Lower House agreed to his draught; but the Bishops laid it aside, and ordered another Representation to be drawn, in more general and more modest terms: It was not settled, which of these draughts should be. A Representation drawn for the Queen.

1711. be made use of, or whether any Representation at all should be made to the Queen: For it was known, that the design in asking one was only to have an aspersion cast, both on the former Ministry and on the former Reign. Several provisions were prepared, with relation to the other particulars in the Queen's Letter: But none of these were agreed to by both Houses.

Whiston revived Arianism.

An incident happened, that diverted their thoughts to another matter: Mr. *Whiston*, the Professor of Mathematicks in *Cambridge*, a learned Man, of a sober and exemplary Life, but much set on hunting for Paradoxes, fell on the reviving the *Arian* Heresy, tho' he pretended to differ from *Arius*, in several particulars: Yet upon the main he was partly *Apollinarist*, partly *Arian*; for he thought the *Nous* or *Word* was all the Soul that acted in our Saviour's Body. He found his Notions favoured by the Apostolical Constitutions; so he reckoned them a part, and the chief part of the Cannon of the Scriptures. For these tenets, he was censured at *Cambridge*, and expelled the University: Upon that, he wrote a Vindication of himself and his Doctrine, and dedicated it to the Convocation, promising a larger Work on these Subjects. The uncontested way of proceeding in such a case was, that the Bishop of the Diocese, in which he lived, should cite him into his Court, in order to his conviction or censure, from

from whose Sentence an Appeal lay to the Archbishop, and from him to the Crown. O the Archbishop might proceed in the first instance in a Court of Audience: But we saw no clear Precedents, of any Proceedings in Convocation, where the jurisdiction was contested; a Reference made by the High Commission to the Convocation, where the Party submitted to do penance, being the only Precedent that appeared in History; and even of this we had no Record: so that it not being thought a clear Warrant for our proceeding, we were at a stand. The Act, that settled the course of Appeals in King *Henry* the Eighth's time, made no mention of Sentences in Convocation; and yet, by the Act in the first of Queen *Elizabeth*, that defined what should be judged Heresy, that judgment was declared to be in the Crown: By all this (which the Archbishop laid before the Bishops in a Letter, that he wrote to them on this occasion) it seemed doubtful, whether the Convocation could, in the first instance, proceed against a Man for Heresy: And their Proceedings, if they were not warranted by Law, might involve them in a *Præmunire*. So the Upper House, in an Address, prayed the Queen to ask the opinions of the Judges, and such others as she thought fit, concerning these doubts, that they might know how the Law stood in this matter. 1711.

Eight of the Judges, with the Attorney and

1711. and Solicitor-General, gave their Opinion, that we had a Jurisdiction, and might proceed in such a case; but brought no express Law nor Precedent to support their Opinion: They only observed, that the Law-Books spoke of the Convocation, as having Jurisdiction; and they did not see that it was ever taken from them: They were also of Opinion, that an Appeal lay from the Sentence of Convocation to the Crown; but they reserved to themselves a power to change their mind, in case upon an Argument that might be made for a Prohibition, they should see cause for it. Four of the Judges were positively of a contrary opinion, and maintained it from the Statutes made at the Reformation. The Queen, having received these different opinions, sent them to the Archbishop, to be laid before the two Houses of Convocation; and, without taking any notice of the diversity between them, she wrote that, there being now no doubt to be made of our Jurisdiction, she did expect, that we should proceed in the matter before us. In this it was visible, that those who advised the Queen to write that Letter, considered more their own humours than her Honour. Yet two great doubts still remained, even supposing we had a Jurisdiction: The first was, of whom the Court was to be composed; whether only of the Bishops, or what share the Lower House had in this judiciary Authority: The other was, by what Delegates, in case of an Appeal, our Sentence was

The Different Opinions of the Judges concerning the Power of the Convocation.

was to be examined: Were no Biſhops to be in the Court of Delegates? Or was the Sentence of the Archbiſhop and his twenty-one Suffragan Biſhops, with the Clergy of the Province, to be judged by the Archbiſhop of *York* and his three Suffragan Biſhops? Theſe Difficulties appearing to be ſo great, the Biſhops reſolved to begin with that, in which they had, by the Queen's Licence, an undiſputable Authority; which was to examine and cenſure the Book, and to ſee if his Doctrine was not contrary to the Scriptures, and the firſt four General Councils, which is the meaſure ſet by Law, to judge Hereſy. They drew out ſome Propoſitions from his Book, which ſeemed plainly to be the reviving of *Arianiſm*; and cenſured them as ſuch. Theſe they ſent down to the Lower Houſe, who, tho' they excepted to one Propoſition, yet cenſured the reſt in the ſame manner. This the Archbiſhop (being then diſabled by the Gout) ſent by one of the Biſhops to the Queen for her aſſent, who promiſed to conſider of it: But to end the matter at once, at their next meeting in Winter, no Anſwer being come from the Queen, two Biſhops were ſent to ask it; but ſhe could not tell, what was become of the Paper, which the Arcbiſhop had ſent her; ſo a new Extract of the Cenſure was again ſent to her: But ſhe has not yet thought fit to ſend any Anſwer to it. So *Whiſton*'s Affair ſleeps, tho' he has publiſhed a large Work in

1711.

Whiſton's Doctrines condemned.

1711. in four Volumes in Octavo, justifying his Doctrine, and maintaining the Canonicalness of the Apostolical Constitutions, preferring their Authority not only to the Epistles, but even to the Gospels. In this last I do not find he has made any *Proselytes*, tho' he has set himself much to support that Paradox.

The Lower House would not enter into the consideration of the Representation, sent down to them by the Bishops; so none was agreed on, to be presented to the Queen; But both were printed, and severe reflections were made, in several Tracts, on that which was drawn by the Lower House, or rather by *Atterbury*. The Bishops went thro' all the matters, recommended to them by the Queen; and drew up a Scheme of Regulations on them all: But neither were these agreed to, by the Lower House; for their Spirits were so exasperated, that nothing sent by the Bishops could be agreeable to them. At last the Session of Parliament and Convocation came to an end.

An Act for the *South-Sea* Trade.

The last thing settled by the Parliament was, the creating a new Fund for a Trade in the *South Sea*: There was, a great Debt upon the Navy, occasioned partly, by the deficiency of the Funds appointed for the Service at Sea, but chiefly by the necessity of applying such Supplies as were given, without appropriating Clauses, to the Service abroad; where it was impossible to carry it on by Credit, without ready Money, so

so it was judged necessary to let the Debt of the Navy run on upon credit: This had risen up to several Millions; and the Discount on the Navy-Bills ran high. All this Debt was thrown into one Stock; and a Fund was formed, for paying the Interest at 6 *per Cent.* 1711.

Reflections on the old Ministry fully cleared.

The Flatterers of the new Ministers made great use of this, to magnify them, and to asperse the old Ministry: But a full Report of that matter was soon after published, by which it appeared, that the publick Money had been managed with the utmost fidelity and frugality; and it was made evident, that when there was not Money enough to answer all the Expence of the War, it was necessary to apply it to that, which pressed most, and where the Service could not be carried on by Credit; So this Debt was contracted by an inevitable necessity; and all reasonable Persons were fully satisfied with this account of the matter. The Earl of *Godolphin*'s unblemish'd integrity was such, that no imputation of any sort could be fastened on him; so, to keep up a Clamour, they reflected on the Expence he had run the Nation into, upon the early Successes in the Year 1706; which were very justly acknowledged, and cleared in the succeeding Session, as was formerly told: But that was now revived; and it was said to be an Invasion of the great Right of the Commons in giving Supplies, to enter on designs and to engage the Na-

1711. tion in an expence, not provided for by Parliament. This was aggravated, with many tragical expreſſions, as a ſubverſion of the Conſtitution; ſo with this, and that of the thirty-five Millions, of which the Accounts were not yet paſs'd, and ſome other particulars, they made an inflaming Addreſs to the Queen, at the end of the Seſſions. And this was artificially ſpread thro' the Nation, by which weaker minds were ſo poſſeſſed, that it was not eaſy to undeceive them, even by the fulleſt and cleareſt evidences; the Nation ſeemed ſtill infatuated beyond the power of conviction. With this the Seſſion ended, and all conſidering Perſons had a very melancholy proſpect, when they ſaw what might be apprehended from the two Seſſions, that were yet to come of the ſame Parliament.

Affairs in *Spain*. I now turn to Affairs abroad. The Buſineſs of *Spain* had been ſo much preſſed from the Throne, and ſo much inſiſted on all this Seſſion, and the Commons had given 1,500,000 *l.* for that Service (a ſum far beyond all that had been granted in any preceding Seſſion) ſo that it was expected, matters would have been carried there in another manner than formerly. The Duke of *Argyle* was ſent to command the Queen's Troops there, and he ſeemed full of heat: But all our hopes failed. The Duke of *Vendome*'s Army was in ſo ill a condition, that if *Staremberg* had been ſupported, he promiſed himſelf great advantages: It does not

not yet appear what made this to fail; for the Parliament has not yet taken this into examination. It is certain the Duke of *Argyle* did nothing; neither he nor his Troops were once named, during the whole Campaign: He wrote over very heavy complaints, that he was not ſupported, by the failing of the Remittances, that he expected: But what ground there was for that, does not yet appear: For, tho' he afterwards came over, he was very ſilent, and ſeemed in a good underſtanding with the Miniſters. *Starembergh* drew out his Forces; and the two Armies lay for ſome time looking on one another, without coming to any Action: *Vendome* ordered a Siege to be laid to two ſmall Places, but without ſucceſs. That of *Cardona* was perſiſted in obſtinately, till near the end of *December*, and then *Starembergh* ſent ſome Bodies to raiſe the Siege, who ſucceeded ſo well in their attempt, that they killed 2000 of the Beſiegers, and forced their Camp; ſo that they not only raiſed the Siege, but made themſelves Maſters of the Enemies Artillery, Ammunition, and Baggage; and the Duke of *Vendome*'s Army was ſo diminiſhed, that if *Starembergh* had received the aſſiſtance, which he expected from *England*, he would have pierced far into *Spain*. But we did nothing, after all the zeal we had expreſs'd for retrieving matters on that ſide. 1711.

1711.

The Election of King *Charles* to be Emperor.

The Emperor's death, as it preſently opened to King *Charles* the Succeſſion to the Hereditary Dominions; ſo a diſpoſition appeared unanimouſly, among all the Electors, to chuſe him Emperor: Yet he ſtaid in *Barcelona* till *September*; and then leaving his Queen behind, to ſupport his affairs in *Spain*, he ſailed over to *Italy*: He ſtaid ſome weeks at *Milan*, where the Duke of *Savoy* came to him; and we were told, that all matters in debate were adjuſted between them. We hoped this Campaign would have produced ſomewhat in thoſe parts of advantage to the common cauſe, upon the Agreement made before the Emperor *Joſeph*'s Death. And Mr. *St. John*, when he moved in the Houſe of Commons, for the Subſidies to the Duke of *Savoy*, ſaid, all our hopes of ſucceſs this year lay in that quarter; for in *Flanders* we could do nothing. The Duke came into *Savoy*, and it was given out that he was reſolved to preſs forward; but upon what views, it was not then known, he ſtop'd his courſe; and after a ſhort Campaign, repaſſed the Mountains.

The Election of the Emperor came on at *Francfort*, where ſome Electors came in perſon, others ſent their Deputies; ſome weeks were ſpent in preparing the Capitulations; great applications were made to them, to receive Deputies from the Electors of *Bavaria* and *Cologne*; but they were rejected, for they were under the *Ban* of the Empire; nor were they pleaſed, with the interpoſi-

tion

tion of the Pope's *Nuntio*, who gave them much trouble in that matter; but they perſiſted in refuſing to admit them. *Francfort* lay ſo near the Frontier of the Empire, that it was apprehended, the *French* might have made an attempt that way; for they drew ſome Detachments from their Army in *Flanders*, to encreaſe their Forces on the *Rhine*. This obliged Prince *Eugene*, after he, in conjunction with the Duke of *Marlborough*, had opened the Campaign in *Flanders*, to draw off a Detachment from thence, and march with it towards the *Rhine*; and there he commanded the Imperial Army; and came in good time, to ſecure the Electors at *Francfort*; who being now ſafe, from the fear of any inſult, went on ſlowly in all that they thought fit to propoſe, previous to an Election; and concluded unanimouſly to chuſe *Charles*, who was now declared Emperor by the name of *Charles* the Sixth. He went from *Milan* to *Inſpruck*, and from thence to *Francfort*, where he was crowned with the uſual Solemnity. Thus that matter was happily ended, and no Action happened on the *Rhine* all this Campaign. 1711.

The Duke of *Marlborough's* Army was not only weakened by the detachment, that Prince *Eugene* carried to the *Rhine*, but by the calling over 5000 Men of the beſt Bodies of his Army, for an Expedition deſigned by Sea; ſo that the *French* were ſuperior to him in number: They lay behind

The Duke of *Marlborough* paſſed the *French* Lines.

1711. Lines, that were looked on as ſo ſtrong, that the forcing them was thought an impracticable thing; and it was ſaid, that *Villars* had wrote to the *French* King, that he had put a *Ne plus ultra* to the Duke of *Marlborough*: But, contrary to all expectation, he did ſo amuſe *Villars* with feint motions, that at laſt, to the ſurprize of all *Europe*, he paſs'd the Lines near *Bouchain*, without the loſs of a Man.

This raiſed his Character, beyond all that he had done formerly; the Deſign was ſo well laid, and was ſo happily executed, that in all Mens opinions, it paſs'd for a Maſterpiece of military skill; the honour of it falling entirely on the Duke of *Marlborough*, no other perſon having any ſhare, except in the execution. When our Army was now ſo happily got within the *French* Lines, the *Dutch* Deputies propoſed the attacking the *French*, and venturing a Battle, ſince this Surprize had put them in no ſmall diſorder. The Duke of *Marlborough* differed from them, he thought there might be too much danger in that attempt; the Army was much fatigued with ſo long a March, in which their Cavalry had been eight and forty Hours on horſeback, alighting only twice, about an hour at a time, to feed their Horſes; for they marched eleven Leagues in one day: The *French* were freſh; and our Army was in no condition to enter upon Action, till ſome time was allowed for refreſhment: And the Duke of *Marlborough* thought that,

that, in case of a misfortune, their being within the *French* Lines might be fatal. 1711.

He proposed the besieging *Bouchain*; which he thought might oblige the *French* to endeavour to raise the Siege; and that might give occasion to their fighting on more equal terms; or it would bring both a disreputation and a disheartening on their Army, if a Place of such importance should be taken in their sight: Both the *Dutch* Deputies and the General Officers thought the Design was too bold, yet they submitted to him in the matter: It seemed impracticable to take a Place, situated in a moras, well fortified, with a good Garrison in it, in the sight of a superior Army; for the *French* lay within a mile of them: There was also great danger from the Excursions, that the Garrisons of *Valenciennes* and *Condé* might make, to cut off their Provisions, which were to come to them from *Tournay*. All about the Duke studied to divert him from so dangerous an undertaking; since a misfortune in his conduct would have furnished his Enemies with the advantages, that they waited for. He was sensible of all this, yet he had laid the Scheme so well, that he resolved to venture on it: The *French* tried to throw more Men into the Place, by a narrow causeway thro' the moras, but he took his measures so well, that he was guarded against every thing: He saw what the event of the Siege might be; He besieged *Bouchain*.

1711. so he beſtirred himſelf with unuſual Application, and was more fatigued in the courſe of this Siege, than he had been at any time, during the whole War. He carried on the Trenches, and by his Batteries and Bombs the Place was ſoon laid in ruins. *Villars* ſeemed to be very buſy, but to no purpoſe; yet, ſeeing he could not raiſe the Siege, he tried to ſurprize *Doway*; but they diſcovered the deſign, and forced the Body that was ſent thither, to retreat in all haſte. After twenty days, from the opening the Trenches, the Garriſon of *Bouchain* capitulated; and could have no better terms than to be made Priſoners of War. As this was reckoned the moſt extraordinary thing in the whole Hiſtory of the War, ſo the honour of it was acknowledged to belong wholly to the Duke of *Marlborough*; as the blame of a miſcarriage in it muſt have fallen ſingly on him. *Villars*'s conduct on this occaſion was much cenſured; but it was approved by the King of *France*; And with this the Campaign ended in thoſe parts.

And took it.

An Expedition by Sea to *Canada*.

No Action happened at Sea, for the *French* had no Fleet out: An Expedition was deſigned by Sea for taking *Quebec* and *Placentia*; and for that end, 5000 Men were brought from *Flanders*: *Hill*, who was Brother to the Favourite, had the command. There was a ſtrong Squadron of Men of War ordered, to ſecure the Tranſport Fleet; they were furniſhed from hence with

EXPLANATION OF THE PLAN OF THE SIEGE OF BOUCHAIN:

To be placed at pag. 1144.

A Great part of the Campaign of 1711. having past with little action, & Prince *Eugene* having taken with him a considerable Detachement, to the *Rhine*, to secure the peace of the Empire during the Election, the Confederate Army was so much weakened that it was not expected they could undertake any thing of consequence. The *Mareschal de Villars* at the head of the French Army, kept behind his Lines, which they had made so long, & were resolved to defend so well, that he bragg'd he had set *non plus ultra* to *Marlborough*. This General being informed of the confidence & security of the French, resolved to try what advantage he could make of it, & marched his Army up to their Lines, as if resolved to attack them; it was given out that this had been resolved in a Council of war, & that the Deputys of the States had agreed to it, & several preparations & dispositions were made in order, as appeared, to attack them in front next morning. *M. de Villars*, resolved to defend his Lines, gathered his forces from all the posts & Garrisons round about, which the D. of *Marlborough* seemed also to do; But he detached in the mean time Lieut. General *Cadogan* with some Troops, to join those drawn out of *Douay* & other places, with orders to go & seize the Posts of *Arleux*, & *Bac au Bencheul* on the *Sensette*; this was happily executed on the 5 August early in the morning, a few hours after the French had left these Posts to join their main Army. The Duke, to

sus-

ſuſtain this Detachement, march'd his Army on the 4th at 10 at night. They could not imagine where they were going, ſteing off ſo faſt to the left; but next day, after a long & tedious March of ten Leagues, they were agreably ſurpriſed to find they were got within the Enemys Lines without loſing one man, whereas the day before they reckoned it might coſt them at leaſt ten Thouſand. The Duke of *Marlborough*, at the head of the Cavalry, got to *Bac au Benchenl* on the 5. early in the morning, while the reſt of the Army came up by degrees all that day.

M. de Villars, finding himſelf ontwitted, & that the Allies were got within the Lines & between him & *Bouchain*, apprehended the danger that Place might be in, & endeavoured to repair his fault by marching with all diligence in 4 columns towards the *Scheld*, in order to paſs it firſt, & cover *Bouchain*. Some propoſed then to the D. of *Marlborough* to attack the French in their March; but he thought it not convenient, ſeeing his Army was ſo fatigued; he choſe rather to let it reſt all that day; only took care to keep the advantage he had got, & to paſs the *Scheld* before the French. So he had Bridges laid that day between *Thun L'Eveque*, & *Etrun*, & paſſed on them that night, & next day encamped betwixt the *Scheld* & the *Selle*, as is marked on this Plan at HH. On the 9. he detach'd 30 Bataillons & 12 Squadrons to paſs the *Scheld* on the Bridges mark'd F. F. F. & inveſt the Place on the North ſide; they were afterwards reinforced by 20 Bataillons & 40 Squadrons, & encamped as marked here M. N. O. & carried on the ſiege by two attacks, one on the right, the other on the left.

M. de Villars, vexed that he could not prevent this Siege, did all he could to retard or interrupt it; he encamped his Army between the *Scheld* & the *Senſette*, (See I.) & ſent a ſtrong Detachment over the *Senſette* to poſt themſelves at *Wavrechin* on a riſing ground near to *Bouchain*, (See B. C. D.) not only to annoy the Beſiegers, as they did not a little from their Batteries, throwing Bombs in to their ſecond parallel, (See L.) but alſo to have communication with the Town, & ſend in ſuccours by ways practiſed through the Marſh, which obliged the Allies to draw a Line, with incredible pains & labour, through that Marſh, to cut off that communication of the Enemies with the Town, & to eſtabliſh one between the main Army & the Beſiegers on the Weſtſide alſo. (See F. G.) The Allies were oblidged alſo to draw two Lines, (P. & Q.) to cover their Convoys from *Marchiennes*, from the French Parties ſent out to intercept them, from their Army on the one hand, & from *Valenciennes* & *Condé* on the other.

The Trenches were opened 24 Auguſt; & the ſiege was carried on with ſuch diligence that notwithſtanding the vigorous reſiſtance of a ſtrong Garriſon, the ſtrength of the Place, & its advantageous ſituation in a

very

very marshy ground, & the presence of a Superiour Army giving all the interruptions they could, the Governour was oblidged to demand to capitulate on the 12 September, & on the 13 to surrender himself & Garrison, all Prisoners of war: being 2 Major Generals, 2 Brigadiers, 8 Colonels, 5 Lieut. Colonels, 3 Majors, 75 Captains, 88 Lieutenants &c. in all 3250 Officers & Soldiers.

As this was one of the most hazardous & difficult Sieges of the late war, so it was not the least important, seeing it opened a way for great conquests next Campaign, if it had been thought fit to follow the views & designs of that great General, to whom alone the honour of this affair was due. It was he alone that formed the project; it was by his conduct & vigilance that it succeeded so well; & all those under his Command, as well Officers great & small, as Soldiers, had only their share in the honour of executing well his Orders.

The Conquest of this Place was thought of great consequence, when *Louis le Grand*, in the heighth of his Glory & Triumphs, in 1676. besieged, & took it; being himself at the Head of the Army that covered the siege, which was made under the Command of his Brother the Duke of *Orleans*. The Prince of *Orange* made a bold attempt to raise the siege, & offered Battle, which the French King declined. See the first part of this History, pag. 716. 17. After the taking of this Place *Louis le Grand* retrun'd in Triumph to *Versailles*.

The Inspection of the Plan will make this short Relation easy to be understood. It may be remarked, that a part of *Cambray* is brought in at the head of this Plan, & a part of *Douay* below at the right hand; tho both these citties ly a little further off, yet it was thought fit to bring them in at the quarter neareſt to them, to fix better the idea of the situation of the neighbouring places. One might also have brought in a part of *Valenciennes* on the left hand, further down the *Scheld* below *Denain*, about as far as *Bouchain* is above it.

The mentioning of *Denain* brings into my mind the unlucky Action, that happened there next Campaign, on the 24. July 1712. of which I shall here endeavour to give some Notion by the help of this same Plan. Shee wat is said of it here on pag. 1209.

Prince *Eugene* having taken *Quênoy* on the 4. July, marched further up & invested *Landrecies*, on the 17. not doubting but he might take it very soon, & so have a free passage into the heart of *France*.

On forming the Siege of *Quênoy*, it was thought necessary to post a body of Horse & Foot at *Denain*, for security of the Convoys of Provision & Amunition that were drawn from *Marchiennes* on the *Scarpe* (See the lower part of this Plan) where they were brought in boats & lighters from *Holland* & *Flandres*. This detached Body, consisting of ten

Ba-

Bataillons & 23 Squadrons under the Command of the Earl of *Albemarle* was unhappily left still at *Denain*, to keep open the same communication, when the Siege of *Landrecies* was undertaken, at 20 miles distance. This gave a fair opportunity to M. de *Villars*, to return the affront he had received last Campaign, & he copied very well the lesson he had then got from *Marlborough*. He made motions with the Right wing of his Army, on the 22 & 23 of July, as if he designed to attack the Troops that were before *Landrecies*; but on the 23. towards evening he made his Army file off from the left, stole a march of that whole night from Pr. *Eugene*, passed the *Scheld* at *Neuville* near *Bouchain* on 4 bridges he got laid there early on the 24. & brought up his whole Army in order, to attack that small body, that was but poorly entrenched at *Denain*. Pr. *Eugene* being advertised by an Expres from Lord *Albemarle*, that *Villars* had passed the *Scheld* & was coming to attack him, came to *Denain* with all expedition; but finding it was too late to bring assistance, he retired with all the Cavalry over the *Scheld*; so the 6 Bataillons, joined with 6. others that had been posted at *Fenain* & *Marchiennes*, were easily defeated & taken by the French Army. The loss, with that of *Marchiennes*, & of all the Provisions & Ammunition that lay there, soon followed by that of *Douay*, that had but a weak Garrison, & of *Quenoy* with a great Train of Artillery, cast such a damp on the Allies, after the English had left them, that they all lost heart, & were oblidged to accept the terms of peace offered by *France*.

A very acurate Map, with an exact Relation of the whole affair of DENAIN, *is sold by* T. JOHNSON, *Bookseller at* ROTTERDAM.

It may be placed in this History at pag. 1210.

12

PLAN du SIEGE de BOUCHAIN et de la Situation de L'Armée des Alliez commandée par S. A. le Pr.ce et Duc de Marlborough et de celle de France commandée par Le Marechal Duc de Villars. a.e 1711.

A la Haye chez T. Johnson Libraire.

CAMBRAY
Avêne le Gobert
Cagniode
Nave
Escaudevre
Thun St. Martin
Thun l'Evêque
Eswars
Neuville
Railecourt
Sailly
Saucour
Hainecourt
Blecourt
Cuviller
Espignoy
Bantigny
Abancourt
Bac au Bencheul
Quartier du Duc de Marlborough
Avêne le Secq
Estrun
Palliencourt
Quartier du Marechal Villars
Fresi
Enbanglet
Aubigny
Lieu St. Amand
Wavrechin
Wasnecaubas
Torchain
BOUCHAIN
Fresin
Marque
Marquette
Mongecourt
Villers au Tertre
Douchy
Neuville
Roeux
Mastaigne
Lourche
Raucourt
Chapt de Vicognette
Erchin
Denain
Annische
Le Warde
Escaudin
Auberchicour
Guenain
Decy
Sin
Avelus
St. Cales
Herfin
Manuy
Escaillon
Bruille
Eyre
Walers
Helemmes
Hornain
Fenain
Sommain
Pecquencour
Monteignie
Lalain
Anchin
Raziers
DOUAY
Ruvelay
Vred
Flines
Fosse de Flines
Fort de la Scarpe
Pont a Rache
Rache
Coustiches
Marchienne
Warlin
Bourignies

with Proviſions, only for three months; 1711.
but they deſigned to take in a ſecond ſupply at *New England*. A Commiſſioner of the Victualling then told me, he could not gueſs what made them be ſent out ſo ill furniſhed; for they had ſtores, lying on their hands, for a full ſupply. They ſailed, ſoon after the end of the Seſſion, and had a quick paſſage to *New England*; but were forced to ſtay many weeks on that coaſt, before they could be ſupplied with Proviſions: They ſailed near the end of *Auguſt* into the River of *Canada*, which was thirty miles broad: But they were ill ſerved with Pilots; and at that Seaſon, Storms were ordinary in thoſe parts: One of theſe broke upon them, by which ſeveral Ships were overſet, and about 2500 Men were loſt. Thus the deſign of *Quebec* miſcarried; and their Proviſions were too ſcanty, to venture an Attempt on *Placentia*: So they returned home unproſperous. It miſcarried.

This was a great mortification to the new Miniſtry; it being their firſt undertaking, ill projected, and worſe executed, in every ſtep of it: It was the more liable to cenſure, becauſe at the very time, that the old Miniſtry were charged with entring on Deſigns, that had not been laid before the Parliament, and for which no Supplies had been given, they projected this, even while a Seſſion was yet going on, without communicating it to the Parliament; whereas, what the former Miniſtry had done this

1711. way, was upon emergents, and ſucceſſes, after the end of the Seſſion: But this matter has not yet been brought under a Parliamentary examination, ſo the diſcoveries, that may be made if that happens, muſt be referred to their proper place. This was the ſtate of our Affairs during this Campaign; the Merchants complained of great loſſes made at Sea, by the ill management of Convoys and Cruizers.

Affairs in *Turkey.* The War between the *Turk* and the *Czar* came to a quick end: The *Czar* advanced with his Army ſo far into *Moldavia*, that he was cut off from his Proviſions: An Engagement followed, in which both ſides pretended they had the advantage. It is certain, the *Czar* found he was reduced to great extremities; for he propoſed, in order to a Peace, to ſurrender *Azuph*, with ſome other Places, and conſented that the King of *Sweden* might be ſent home ſafe to his own Country. The *Grand Vizier* was glad to arrive at ſo ſpeedy a Concluſion of the War; and, notwithſtanding the great oppoſition made by the King of *Sweden*, he concluded a Peace with the *Muſcovite*, not without ſuſpicion of his being corrupted by money to it. The King of *Sweden* being highly offended at this, charged, the *Grand Vizier*, for neglecting the great advantages he had over the *Czar*, ſince he and his whole Army were at mercy; and he prevailed ſo far at the *Port*, that upon it the *Grand Vizier* was depoſed, and there was

an

an appearance of a War ready to break out the next year: for the *Czar* delayed the rendring *Azuph* and the other Places agreed to be delivered up; pretending that the King of *Sweden* was not ſent home, according to agreement; yet to prevent a new War, all the Places were at length delivered up: What effect this may have, muſt be left to farther time. 1711.

Towards the end of the year the *Danes* and *Saxons* broke in by concert upon *Pomerania*, reſolving to beſiege *Stralzund*; but every thing neceſſary for a Siege came ſo ſlowly from *Denmark*, that no progreſs was made, tho' the Troops lay near the Place, for ſome months; and in that time the *Swedes* landed a conſiderable body of Men, in the Iſle of *Rugen*: At laſt the Beſiegers, being in want of every thing, were forced to raiſe the Siege, and to retire from that neighbourhood, in the beginning of *January*. They ſate down next before *Wiſmar*, but that attempt likewiſe miſcarried, which rendered the conduct of the King of *Denmark* very contemptible; who thus obſtinately carried on a War (at a time that a Plague ſwept away a third part of the People of *Copenhagen*) with as little conduct as ſucceſs. Having thus given a ſhort view of Affairs abroad, And in *Pomerania*.

I come next to give the beſt account I can, of a ſecret and important tranſaction at

1711. at home. The Miniſters now found, how hard it was to reſtore Credit, and by conſequence to carry on the War; Mr. *Harley*'s wound gave the Queen the occaſion, which ſhe ſeemed to be waiting for; upon his recovery ſhe had created him an Earl, by a double Title, of *Oxford* and *Mortimer*. Preambles to Patents of Honour uſually carry in them a ſhort account of the Dignity of the Family, & of the Services of the Perſon advanced: But his Preamble was very pompous, and ſet him out in the moſt extravagant characters that Flatterers could invent; in particular it ſaid, that he had redeemed the Nation from Robbery, had reſtored Credit, and rendered the Publick great ſervice in a courſe of many years: All this was ſet out in too fulſome Rhetorick, and being prepared by his own direction, pleaſed him ſo much, that whereas all other Patents had been only read in the Houſe of Lords, this was printed. He was at the ſame time made Lord Treaſurer, and became the chief, if not ſole Miniſter, for every thing was directed by him. It ſoon appeared, that his ſtrength lay in managing Parties, and in engaging weak people by rewards and promiſes, to depend upon him; but that he neither thoroughly underſtood the buſineſs of the Treaſury, nor the conduct of foreign Affairs. But he truſted to his intereſt in the Queen and in the Favourite.

Harley made an Earl, and Lord Treaſurer.

He ſaw the load, that the carrying on the

the War must bring upon him; so he resolved to strike up a peace as soon as was possible. The Earl of *Jersey* had some correspondence in *Paris* and at *St. Germains*, so he trusted the conduct of the Negotiation to him. The Duke of *Newcastle*, who was Lord Privy Seal, died of an Apoplexy in *July*, being the richest Subject that had been in *England* for some Ages; he had an Estate of above 40000 *l.* a year, and was much set on encreasing it. Upon his Death it was resolved to give the Earl of *Jersey* the Privy Seal; but he died suddenly the very day in which it was to be given him; upon that it was conferred on *Robinson*, Bishop of *Bristol*, who was designed to be the Plenipotentiary in the Treaty, that was projected. One *Prior*, who had been *Jersey*'s Secretary, upon his death, was imployed to prosecute that, which the other did not live to finish. *Prior* had been taken a Boy, out of a Tavern, by the Earl of *Dorset*, who accidentally found him reading *Horace*; and he, being very generous, gave him an Education in Literature: He was sent to the Court of *France* in *September*, to try on what terms we might expect a Peace; his Journey was carried on secretly; but upon his return, he was stopt at *Dover*; and a Packet, that he brought, was kept, till an order came from Court to set him free: And by this accident the Secret broke out. Soon after that, one *Mesnager* was sent over from *France*, with

1711.

Negotiations for a Peace with *France*.

Pre-

1711. Preliminaries; but very different from thoſe, that had been concerted at the *Hague*, two years before.

Preliminaries offered by *France*.

By theſe, the King of *France* offered, to acknowledge the Queen, and the Succeſſion to the Crown, according to the preſent Settlement, and that he would *bona fide* enter into ſuch meaſures, that the Crowns of *France* and *Spain* ſhould never belong to the ſame Perſon; that he would ſettle a ſafe and proper Barrier to all the Allies; that he would raze *Dunkirk*, provided an Equivalent ſhould be given, for deſtroying the Fortifications, he had made there, at ſo great an expence; and that he would procure both to *England* and to the *States* the re-eſtabliſhing of their Commerce. The Court was then at *Windſor*: Theſe Propoſitions were ſo well entertained at our Court, that a copy of them was ordered to be given to Count *Gallas*, the Emperor's Miniſter: He treated theſe Offers with much Scorn, and printed the Preliminaries in one of our News-Papers; ſoon after that, he was ordered to come no more to Court, but to make haſte out of *England*.

Count *Gallas* ſent away with diſgrace.

The proceeding was ſevere and unuſual; for the common method, when a Provocation was given by a Publick Miniſter, was to complain of him to his Maſter, and to deſire him to be recalled. It was not then known upon what this was grounded; that which was ſurmized was, that his Secretary *Gaultier* (who was a Prieſt) betrayed

trayed him; and discovered his secret correspondence, and the Advertisements he sent the Emperor, to give him ill impressions of our Court; for which Treachery he was rewarded with an Abbey in *France*: But of this I have no certain information. 1711.

When our Court was resolved on this Project; they knew the Lord *Townshend* so well, that they could not depend on his serving their ends; so he was both recalled and disgraced: And the Lord *Raby* was brought from the Court of *Prussia*, and advanced to be Earl of *Strafford*, and sent Ambassador to *Holland*. It was not then known, how far our Court carried the Negotiations with *France*; it was not certain, whether they only accepted of these Preliminaries, as a foundation for a Treaty, to be opened upon them; or if any private Promise or Treaty was signed: This last was very positively given out, both in *France* and *Spain*. The very treating, without the concurrence of our Allies, was certainly an open Violation of our Alliances, which had expressly provided against any such Negotiation. Earl of *Strafford* sent Ambassador to *Holland*.

Many mercenary Pens were set on work, to justify our Proceedings, and to defame our Allies, more particularly the *Dutch*; this was done with much Art, but with no regard to Truth, in a Pamphlet entitled the *Conduct of the Allies, and of the late Ministry*; to which very full Answers were written, detecting the thread of Falsehood, that ran thro' Many Libels against the Allies.

1711. thro' that Work. It was now said, *England* was so exhausted, that it was impossible to carry on the War: And when King *Charles* was chosen Emperor, it was also said, he would be too great and too dangerous to all his Neighbours, if *Spain* were join'd to the Empire, and to the Hereditary Dominions: It was also zealously, tho' most falsely, infused into the minds of the People, that our Allies, most particularly the *Dutch*, had imposed on us, and failed us on many occasions. The *Jacobites* did, with the greater joy entertain this prospect of Peace, because the *Dauphin* had, in a Visit to *St. Germains*, congratulated that Court upon it; which made them conclude, that it was to have a happy effect, with relation to the *Pretender*'s Affairs.

Earl *Rivers* sent to *Hanover*, but succeded not.

Our Court denied this; and sent the Earl of *Rivers* to *Hanover*, to assure the Elector, that the Queen would take especial care, to have the Succession to the Crown secured to his Family, by the Treaty that was to be opened: This made little impression on that Elector; for he saw clearly, that if *Spain* and the *West-Indies* were left to King *Philip*, the *French* would soon become the superiour Power to all the rest of *Europe*; that *France* would keep *Spain* in subjection, and by the wealth they would fetch from the *Indies*, they would give Law to all about them, and set what King they pleased on the Throne of *England*. Earl *Rivers* staid a few days there, and brought an

Answer

Anſwer from the Elector in writing; yet the Elector apprehended, not without reaſon, that it might be ſtifled; therefore he ordered his Miniſter to give a full Memorial, to the ſame purpoſe, of which our Court took no notice: But the Memorial was tranſlated and printed here, to the great ſatisfaction of all thoſe, who were afraid of the ill deſigns, that might be hid, under the pretence of the Treaty then propoſed. 1711.

The Earl of *Strafford* preſſed the *States*, to comply with the Queen's deſire, of opening a Treaty: They anſwered very ſlowly, being deſirous to ſee how the Parliament was inclined; but the Parliament was prorogued from the 13th to the 29th of *November*, and from that to the 7th of *December*. It was alſo reported in *Holland*, that the Earl of *Strafford* (ſeeing the *States* ſlow in granting the Paſſports, and upon that apprehending theſe delays flowed from their expecting to ſee, how the Parliament of *England* approved of theſe ſteps) told them plainly, that till they agreed to a Treaty, and granted the Paſſports, the Seſſion ſhould not be opened: So they granted them, and left the time and place of treaty, to the Queen's determination. She named *Utrecht* as the place of Congreſs, and the firſt of *January* O. S. for opening it; and wrote a circular Letter to all the Allies, inviting them to ſend Plenipotentiaries to that place. The Emperor ſet himſelf vehement- The *States* are forced to open a Treaty.

1711. ly to oppoſe the progreſs of this matter; he ſent Prince *Eugene*, to diſſuade the *States* from agreeing to it, and offered a new Scheme of the War, that ſhould be eaſier to the Allies, and lie heavier on himſelf: But the Paſſports were now ſent to the Court of *France*; that Court demanded Paſſports likewiſe, for the Plenipotentiaries of King *Philip*, and of the Electors of *Bavaria* and *Cologn*: this was offered by our Court to the *States*, they refuſed it, but whether our Miniſters then agreed to it or not, I cannot tell.

Endeavours uſed by the Court before they opened the Parliament.

Before the opening the Seſſion, pains were taken on many perſons, to perſuade them to agree to the meaſures the Court were in; the Duke of *Marlborough*, upon his coming over, ſpoke very plainly to the Queen againſt the ſteps, that were already made; but he found her ſo poſſeſſed, that what he ſaid made no impreſſion, ſo he deſired to be excuſed from coming to Council, ſince he muſt oppoſe every ſtep, that was made in that Affair. Among others, the Queen ſpoke to myſelf; ſhe ſaid, ſhe hoped Biſhops would not be againſt Peace: I ſaid, a good Peace was what we prayed daily for, but the Preliminaries offered by *France* gave no hopes of ſuch an one; and the truſting to the King of *France*'s Faith, after all that had paſs'd, would ſeem a ſtrange thing. She ſaid, we were not to regard the Preliminaries; we ſhould have a Peace upon ſuch a bottom, that we ſhould

should not at all rely on the King of *France*'s Word; but we ought to suspend our opinions, till she acquainted us with the whole matter. I asked leave to speak my mind plainly; which she granted: I said, any Treaty by which *Spain* and the *West-Indies* were left to King *Philip*, must in a little while deliver up all *Europe* into the hands of *France*; and, if any such Peace should be made, she was betrayed, and we were all ruined; in less than three years time, she would be murdered, and the Fires would be again raised in *Smithfield*: I pursued this long, till I saw she grew uneasy; so I withdrew. 1711.

The Quern's Speech to the two Houses.

On the seventh of *December*, she opened the Parliament: In her Speech she said, notwithstanding the arts of those who delighted in War, the time and place were appointed for treating a general Peace; her Allies, especially the *States*, had by their ready concurrence expressed an entire confidence in her; and she promised, to do her utmost to procure reasonable satisfaction to them all: She demanded of the House of Commons the necessary Supplies, for carrying on the War; and hoped that none would envy her the Glory of ending it by a just and honorable Peace; she in particular recommended unanimity, that our Enemies might not think us a divided People, which might prevent that good Peace, of which she had such reasonable hopes, and so near a view.

1711. The Speech gave occaſion to many reflections; *The Arts of thoſe who delighted in War* ſeemed to be levelled at the Duke of *Marlborough*, and the Preliminaries concerted at the *Hague*; her ſaying, that the Allies repoſed an entire confidence in her, amazed all thoſe who knew, that neither the Emperor nor the Empire had agreed to the Congreſs, but were oppoſing it with great vehemence; and that even the *States* were far from being cordial or eaſy, in the ſteps that they had made.

Reflections on it.

Earl of *Nottingham* moved, that no Peace could be ſafe, unleſs *Spain* and the *Weſt-Indies* were taken from the Houſe of *Bourbon*.

After the Speech, a Motion was made in the Houſe of Lords, to make an Addreſs of thanks to the Queen for her Speech; upon this, the Earl of *Nottingham* did very copiouſly ſet forth the neceſſity of having *Spain* and the *Weſt-Indies*, out of the hands of a Prince of the Houſe of *Bourbon*; he moved that, with their Addreſs of thanks they ſhould offer that as their Advice to the Queen; he ſet forth the miſery that all *Europe*, but *England* moſt particularly muſt be under, if the *Weſt-Indies* came into a *French* management; and that King *Phillip*'s poſſeſſing them was, upon the matter, the putting them into the the hands of *France*. This was much oppoſed by the Miniſters; they moved the referring that matter to another occaſion, in which it might be fully debated; but ſaid, it was not fit to clog the Addreſs with it. Some officious Courtiers ſaid, that ſince Peace and War belonged, as Prerogatives to the Crown, it

was

was not proper to offer any Advice in thoſe matters, 'till it was asked; But this was rejected with indignation, ſince it was a conſtant practice in all Seſſions of Parliament, to offer Advices; no Prerogative could be above Advice; this was the end ſpecified in the Writ, by which a Parliament was ſummoned; nor was the motion for a delay received. The Eyes of all *Europe* were upon the preſent Seſſion; and this was a Poſt-night: So it was fit they ſhould come to a preſent Reſolution, in a matter of ſuch importance. The Queſtion was put, whether this Advice ſhould be part of the Addreſs; and the previous Queſtion being firſt put, it was carried by one Voice to put it; and the main Queſtion was carried by three Voices: ſo this Point was gained, tho' by a ſmall majority. The ſame Motion was made in the Houſe of Commons, but was rejected by a great majority; yet in other reſpects their Addreſs was well couched: for they ſaid, they hoped for a juſt, honourable, and laſting Peace to her Majeſty and to all her Allies. 1711. Agreed to by the Lords.

When the Addreſs of the Lords was reported to the Houſe, by the Committee appointed to prepare it, the Court tried to get the whole matter to be conteſted over again, pretending that the Debate was not now, upon the matter debated the day before, but only whether they ſhould agree to the draught, prepared by the Committee: But that part of it, which contai-

1711. ned the Advice, was conceived in the very words, in which the Vote had paſs'd; and it was a ſtanding Rule, that what was once voted, could never again be brought into queſtion, during that Seſſion. This was ſo ſacred a Rule, that many of thoſe, who voted with the Court the day before, expreſſed their indignation againſt it, as ſubverting the very Conſtitution of Parliaments, if things might be thus voted and unvoted again, from day to day: Yet even upon this a Diviſion was called for, but the Majority appearing ſo evidently againſt the Motion, it was yielded, without counting the Houſe.

The Queen's Anſwer. When the Addreſs was preſented to the Queen, her Anſwer was; ſhe was ſorry, that any ſhould think, ſhe ſhould not do her utmoſt to hinder *Spain* and the *Weſt-Indies*, from remaining in the hands of a Prince of the Houſe of *Bourbon*: And the Lords returned her thanks for this gracious Anſwer; for they underſtood, by the doing her utmoſt, was meant the continuing the War. The Court was much troubled to ſee the Houſe of Lords ſo backward; and both ſides ſtudied to fortify themſelves, by bringing up their Friends, or by getting their Proxies.

A Bill againſt Occaſional Conformity. The next Motion was made by the Earl of *Nottingham*, for leave to bring in a Bill againſt Occaſional Conformity: He told thoſe, with whom he now joined, that he was but one Man come over to

to them, unleſs he could carry a Bill to that effect; but, if they would give way to that, he hoped he ſhould be able to bring many to concur with them in other things. They yielded this the more eaſily, becauſe they knew that the Court had offered, to the high Men in the Houſe of Commons, to carry any Bill that they ſhould deſire in that matter: The Earl of *Nottingham* promiſed to draw it with all poſſible temper. It was thus prepared; that all Perſons in Places of Profit and Truſt, and all the Common-Council Men in Corporations, who ſhould be at any Meeting for Divine Worſhip (where there were above ten Perſons, more than the Family) in which the Common Prayer was not uſed, or where the Queen and the Princeſs *Sophia* were not prayed for, ſhould upon Conviction forfeit their Place of Truſt or Profit, the Witneſſes making oath within ten days, and the Proſecution being within three months after the Offence; and ſuch Perſons were to continue incapable of any Imployment, 'till they ſhould depoſe, that for a whole year together they had been at no Conventicle. The Bill did alſo enact, that the Toleration ſhould remain inviolable, in all time to come; and that if any Perſon ſhould be brought into trouble, for not having obſerved the rules, that were preſcribed by the Act that firſt granted the Toleration, all ſuch Proſecution ſhould ceaſe, upon their taking the Oath preſcribed by that Act: And a Teacher, licenſed in any 1711.

1711. one County, was by the Bill qualified, to ſerve in any licenſed Meeting in any part of *England*; and by another Clauſe, all who were concerned in the Practice of the Law in *Scotland* were required to take the *Abjuration*, in the month of *June* next.

Paſſed without oppoſition.

No oppoſition was made to this in the Houſe of Lords; ſo it paſſed in three days; and it had the ſame fate in the Houſe of Commons; only they added a Penalty on the Offender of forty Pounds, which was to be given to the Informer: and ſo it was offered to the Royal Aſſent, with the Bill for four Shillings in the Pound. Great Reflections were made on the fate of this Bill, which had been formerly ſo much conteſted, and was ſo often rejected by the Lords, and now went thro' both Houſes, in ſo ſilent a manner, without the leaſt oppoſition; Some of the Diſſenters complained much, that they were thus forſaken by their Friends, to whom they had truſted; and the Court had Agents among them, to inflame their reſentments, ſince they were ſacrificed by thoſe, on whom they depended. All the excuſe that the Whigs made, for their eaſineſs in this matter, was, That they gave way to it, to try how far the yielding it might go toward quieting the fears of thoſe, who ſeemed to think the Church was ſtill in danger, 'till that Act paſs'd; and thereby to engage theſe, to concur with them, in thoſe important matters that might come before them. It muſt be left to time to ſhew, what

what good effect this Act may have on the Church, or what bad ones it may have on Diſſenters. 1711.

The next point that occaſioned a great debate in the Houſe of Lords, which was eſpouſed by the Court with great zeal, was a Patent creating Duke *Hamilton*, a Duke in *England*: Lawyers were heard for the Patent, the Queen's Prerogative in conferring Honours was clear; all the Subjects of the United Kingdom had likewiſe a capacity of receiving Honour; the Commons of *Scotland* had it unqueſtionably; and it ſeemed a ſtrange aſſertion, that the Peers of that Nation ſhould be the only Perſons, incapable of receiving Honour: By the Act of Union the Peers of *Scotland* were, *by virtue of that Treaty*, to have a Repreſentation of Sixteen, for their whole Body; theſe Words, *by virtue of that Treaty*, ſeemed to intimate, that by Creation or Succeſſion they might be made capable: And, in the debate that followed in the Houſe, the *Scotch* Lords, who had been of the Treaty, affirmed that theſe words were put in on that deſign: And upon this, they appealed to the *Engliſh* Lords; This was denied by none of them. It was alſo urged, that the Houſe of Lords had already judged the matter, when they not only received the Duke of *Queensberry*, upon his being created Duke of *Dover*; but had ſo far affirmed his being a Peer of *Great Britain*, that upon that account, they had denied him the

Duke *Hamilton*'s Patent examined.

1711. Right of Voting in the Election of the Sixteen Peers of *Scotland*. But in oppoſition to all this, it was ſaid, That the Prerogative could not operate when it was barred by an Act of Parliament; the Act of Union had made all the Peers of *Scotland*, Peers of *Great Britain*, as to all intents, except the Voting in the Houſe of Lords, or ſitting in Judgment on a Peer; and as to their Voting, that was veſted in their Repreſentatives, by whom they voted: The Queen might give them what Titles ſhe pleaſed; but this incapacity of Voting, otherwiſe than by theſe Sixteen, being ſettled by Law, the Prerogative was by that limited as to them: They had indeed admitted the Duke of *Queensberry* to ſit among them, as Duke of *Dover*; but that matter was never brought into debate; ſo it was only paſſed over in ſilence: And he was mentioned in their Books, upon the occaſion of his voting in the Choice of the Sixteen Peers of *Scotland*, in terms that were far from determining this; for it was there ſaid, that he claiming to be Duke of *Dover*, could not vote as a *Scotch* Peer. The *Scotch* Lords inſiſted, in arguing for the Patent, with great vehemence, not without intimations of the diſmal effects, that might follow, if it ſhould go in the Negative. The Court put their whole ſtrength to ſupport the Patent; this heightened the zeal of thoſe who oppoſed it; For they apprehended, that conſidering the Dignity and the Anti-

Antiquity of the *Scotch* Peers, and the poverty of the greater part of them, the Court would always have recourſe to this, as a ſure expedient to have a conſtant Majority in the Houſe of Lords. There was no limitation indeed on the Prerogative, as to the Creation of new Peers, yet theſe were generally Men of Eſtates, who could not be kept in a conſtant dependance, as ſome of the *Scotch* Lords might be. 1711.

The Queen heard all the Debate, which laſted ſome hours; in concluſion, when it came to the final Vote, fifty-two voted for the Patent, and fifty-ſeven againſt it. The Queen and the Miniſters ſeemed to be much concerned at this, and the *Scotch* were enraged at it: They met together, and ſigned a Repreſentation to the Queen, complaining of it as a breach of the Union, and a mark of diſgrace put on the whole Peers of *Scotland*, adding ſolemn promiſes of maintianing her Prerogative, either in an united or ſeparated State. This Made the Miniſters reſolve on another method to let the Peers, and indeed the whole World ſee, that they would have that Houſe kept in a conſtant dependance on the Court, by creating ſuch a number of Peers at once, as ſhould give them an unqueſtionable Majority. On the twenty-ſecond of *December* the Bill for four Shillings in the Pound was ready for the Royal Aſſent; yet the Houſe of Commons adjourned to the fourteenth of *January*, which was a long Receſs in ſo critical a time. *Judged againſt him.*

A

1711. A Motion was made in the Houſe of Lords, by the Duke of *Devonſhire*, for leave to bring in a Bill, to give the Prince Electoral of *Hanover*, as Duke of *Cambridge*, the Precedence of all Peers; this was granted, and ſo was like to meet with no oppoſition. The Earl of *Nottingham* moved next, that before their Receſs, they ſhould make an addreſs to the Queen, deſiring her to order her Plenipotentiaries to concert, with the Miniſters of the Allies, the Grounds upon which they were to proceed in their Treaties, and to agree on a mutual Guaranty to ſecure them to us, as well as to all *Europe*, and in particular to ſecure the Proteſtant Succeſſion to *England*. All the oppoſition that the Court made to this was, to ſhew it was needleſs, for it was already ordered: And the Lord Treaſurer ſaid, the Lords might, in order to their ſatisfaction, ſend to examine their Inſtructions. To this it was anſwered, that the offering ſuch an addreſs would fortify the Plenipotentiaries, in executing their Inſtructions. The Court moved, that theſe Words might be put in the Addreſs, *if the Queen had not ordered it*; ſo, this being agreed to, the thing paſſed; and the Lords adjourned to the ſecond of *January*.

The Lords Addreſs that our Allies might be carried along with us in the Treaty.

But a new Scene was ready to be opened in the Houſe of Commons; the Commiſſioners for examining the Publick Accounts made ſome Diſcoveries, upon which they intended to proceed, at their next Meeting.

Diſcoveries of Bribery pretended.

Wal-

Walpole, who had been Secretary of War, and who had appeared with great Firmneſs in the defence of the late Miniſtry, was firſt aimed at; a Bill had been remitted to him of 500 *l.* by thoſe who had contracted to forage the Troops, that lay in *Scotland*; this made way to a matter of more importance: A *Jew*, concerned in the Contract for furniſhing Bread to the Army in *Flanders*, made a Preſent yearly to the Duke of *Marlborough* of between 5 and 6000 *l.* The General of the *States* had the like Preſent, as a perquiſite to ſupport his dignity, and to enable him to procure intelligence: The Queen ordered 10000 *l.* a-year more to the Duke of *Marlborough*, for the ſame ſervice: The late King had alſo agreed, that two and a half *per Cent.* ſhould be deducted out of the Pay of the foreign Troops, which amounted to 15000 *l.* This the Queen had by a Warrant appointed the Duke of *Marlborough* to receive, on the ſame account. 1711.

The Duke of *Marlborough* aimed at.

He heard his Enemies had diſcovered the preſent, made him by the *Jew*, while he was beyond Sea; ſo he wrote to them, and owned the whole matter to be true, and added, that he had applied theſe Sums to the procuring good intelligence, to which, next to the Bleſſing of God and the Bravery of the Troops, their conſtant Succeſſes were chiefly owing. This did not ſatisfy the Commiſſioners; but tho' no complaints were brought from the Army,

of

1711. of their not being conſtantly ſupplied with good bread yet they ſaw here was matter to raiſe a Clamour, which they chiefly aimed at; ſo this was reported to the Houſe of Commons before their Receſs.

He is turned out of all his Imployments.

A few days after this, the Queen wrote him a Letter, complaining of the ill treatment ſhe received from him, and diſcharged him of all his imployments. This was thought very extraordinary, after ſuch long and eminent Services: ſuch Accidents, when they happen, ſhew the inſtability of all human things; this was indeed ſo little expected, that thoſe who looked for Precedents, could find none ſince the Diſgrace of *Beliſarius* in *Juſtinian*'s time: The only thing pretended to excuſe it was, his being conſidered as the Head of thoſe, who oppoſed the Peace, on which the Court ſeemed to ſet their hearts.

Twelve new Peers made.

But they, finding the Majority of the Houſe of Lords could not be brought to favour their Deſigns, reſolved to make an experiment, that none of our Princes had ventured on in former times: A Reſolution was taken up very ſuddenly of making twelve Peers all at once; three of theſe were called up by Writ, being eldeſt Sons of Peers; and nine more were created by Patent. Sir *Miles Wharton*, to whom it was offered, refuſed it: He thought it looked like the ſerving a turn; and that, whereas Peers were wont to be made for Services they had done, he would be made for Services to be done by

by him; ſo he excuſed himſelf, and the Favourite's Husband, Mr. *Maſham*, was put in his room. And whereas formerly *Jeffries* had the Vanity to be made a Peer, while he was Chief Juſtice, which had not been practiſed for ſome Ages; yet the Precedent ſet by him was followed, and *Trevor*, Chief Juſtice of the Common Pleas, was now advanced to be a Peer. This was looked upon as an undoubted part of the Prerogative; ſo there was no ground in Law to oppoſe the receiving the new Lords into the Houſe: Nor was it poſſible to raiſe, in the ancient Peers, a ſenſe of the indignity that was now put upon their Houſe; ſince the Court did by this openly declare, that they were to be kept in abſolute ſubmiſſion and obedience. 1711.

When the ſecond of *January* came, they were all introduced into the Houſe of Lords without any oppoſition; and when that was over, the Lord Keeper delivered a Meſſage from the Queen, commanding them to adjourn forthwith to the fourteenth; for by that time her Majeſty would lay matters of great importance before the two Houſes. Upon this a great Debate aroſe; it was ſaid, that the Queen could not ſend a Meſſage to any one Houſe to adjourn, when the like Meſſage was not ſent to both Houſes: the Pleaſure of the Prince, in convening, diſſolving, proroguing, or ordering the adjournment of Parliaments, was always directed to both 1712.

The Queen's Meſſage to the Lords to adjourn, diſputed, but obeyed.

1712. both Houſes; but never to any one Houſe, without the ſame intimation was made, at the ſame time, to the other. The conſequence of this, if allowed, might be the ordering one Houſe to adjourn, while the other was left to ſit ſtill; and this might end in a total disjointing of the Conſtitution: The Vote was carried for adjourning, by the weight of the twelve new Peers. It is true, the odds in the Books is thirteen; but that was, becauſe one of the Peers, who had a Proxy, without reflecting on it, went away when the Proxies were called for.

Prince *Eugene* came to *England.*

At this time Prince *Eugene* was ſent by the Emperor to *England*, to try if it was poſſible to engage our Court, to go on with the War; offering a new Scheme, by which he took a much larger ſhare of it on himſelf, than the late Emperor would bear. That Prince's Character was ſo juſtly high, that all People for ſome weeks preſſed about the Places, where he was to be ſeen, to look on him; I had the honour to be admitted at ſeveral times, to much diſcourſe with him; his Character is ſo univerſally known, that I will ſay nothing of him, but from what appeared to myſelf. He has a moſt unaffected Modeſty, and does ſcarcely bear the acknowledgments, that all the world pay him: He deſcends to an eaſy equality with thoſe, with whom he converſes; and ſeems to aſſume nothing to himſelf, while he reaſons with others:

others. He was treated with great reſpect by both Parties; but he put a diſtinguiſhed Reſpect on the Duke of *Marlborough*, with whom he paſſed moſt of his time. The Queen uſed him civilly, but not with the diſtinction, that was due to his high Merit: Nor did he gain much ground with the Miniſters. 1712.

When the fourteenth of *January* came, the Houſes were ordered to adjourn to the eighteenth, and then a Meſſage was ſent to both Houſes; the Queen told them, the Congreſs was opened, and that ſhe would ſet a day for ending it, as well as ſhe had done for opening it. She had ordered her Plenipotentiaries, to agree with the Miniſters of her Allies, according to all her Treaties with them; to obtain reaſonable ſatisfaction to their Demands; in particular concerning *Spain* and the *Weſt Indies*; by which, the falſe reports of ill-deſigning Men, who, for evil ends, had reported that a ſeparate Peace was treated, would appear, for there was never the leaſt colour given for this. She alſo promiſed, that the Articles of the Treaty ſhould be laid before the Houſes, before any thing ſhould be concluded. Upon this, the Houſe of Lords agreed to an Addreſs, thanking her Majeſty, for communicating this to them, and for the Promiſes ſhe had made them, repeating the words in which they were made: it was moved to add the Words, *Conform to her Alliance*; but it was

A Meſſage to both Houſes.

1712. said, the Queen assured them of that, so the repeating these words seemed to intimate a distrust; and that was not carried. But, because there seemed to be an ambiguity in the mention made of *Spain* and the *West-Indies*, the House expressed, in what sense they understood them, by adding these Words, *Which were of the greatest importance to the Safety and Commerce of these Nations*. The Commons made an Address to the same purpose, in which they only named *Spain* and the *West-Indies*.

A Bill giving Precedence to the Family of *Hanover*.

The Lord Treasurer prevented the Duke of *Devonshire*, who had prepared a Bill for giving Precedence to the Duke of *Cambridge*; for he offered a Bill, giving Precedence to the whole Electoral Family, as the Children and Nephews of the Crown; and it was intimated, that Bills relating to Honours and Precedence ought to come from the Crown. The Duke of *Devonshire* would make no dispute on this head; if the thing passed, he acquiesced in the manner of passing it, only he thought it lay within the Authority of the House. On this occasion, the Court seemed, even to an affectation, to shew a particular zeal in promoting this Bill: For it passed thro' both Houses in two days, it being read thrice in a day, in them both. For all this haste, the Court did not seem to design any such Bill, till it was proposed by others, out of whose hands they thought fit to take

take it. There were two other Articles, in the Queen's Meſſage; by the one, ſhe deſired their Advice and aſſiſtance, to quiet the uneaſineſs, that the Peers of *Scotland* were under, by the Judgment lately given: By the other, ſhe complained of the Licence of the Preſs, and deſired ſome reſtraint might be put upon it. The Lords entred upon the conſideration of that part of the Queen's Meſſage, that related to the Peers of *Scotland*; and it took up almoſt a whole week. The Court propoſed, that an Expedient might be found, that the Peers of *Scotland* ſhould not ſit among them by Election, but by Deſcent, in caſe the reſt of the Peers of that Nation ſhould conſent to it: A Debate followed concerning the Articles of the Union, which of them were fundamental and not alterable; it was ſaid, that by the Union no private Right could be taken away, but by the Conſent of the Perſons concerned; therefore no alteration could be made in the Right of the Peers of *Scotland*, unleſs they conſented to it. It was afterwards debated, whether an alteration might be made with this condition, in caſe they ſhould conſent to it; or whether the firſt riſe to any ſuch Alteration ought not to be given, by a previous deſire. This was not ſo ſubject to an ill management; the Court ſtudied to have a ſubſequent conſent received as ſufficient; but a previous deſire was inſiſted on, as viſibly fairer and juſter.

1712.

Debates concerning the *Scotch* Peers.

1712.

Walpole's Caſe and Cenſure.

The Houſe of Commons, after the Receſs, entred on the Obſervations of the Commiſſioners for taking the Publick Accounts; and began with *Walpole*, whom they reſolved to put out of the way of diſturbing them in the Houſe. The thing laid to his charge ſtood thus; after he, as Secretary of War, had contracted with ſome for Forrage to the Horſe, that lay in *Scotland*; he, finding that the two Perſons who contracted for it made ſome gain by it, named a Friend of his own as a third Perſon, that he might have a ſhare in the gain; but the other two had no mind to let him in, to know the ſecret of their management; ſo they offered him 500 *l.* for his ſhare; he accepted of it, and the Money was remitted. But they, not knowing his Addreſs, directed their Bill to *Walpole*, who endorſed it, and the Perſon concerned received the Money: This was found out, and *Walpole* was charged with it as a Bribe, that he had taken for his own uſe, for making the Contract. Both the Perſons that remitted the Money, and he who received it were examined, and affirmed that *Walpole* was neither directly nor indirectly concerned in the matter; but the Houſe inſiſted upon his having endorſed the Bill, and not only voted this a Corruption, but ſent him to the Tower, and expelled him the Houſe.

The next Attack was on the Duke of *Marlborough*: The Money received from the

the *Jews*, was said to be a Fraud; and that, deducted out of the Pay of the Foreign Troops, was said to be Publick Money, and to be accounted for: The Debate held long; it appeared, that during the former War, King *William* had 50000 *l.* a-year for Contingencies; it was often reckoned to have cost much more. The Contingency was that Service, which could be brought to no certain head, and was chiefly for procuring Intelligence; the Duke of *Marlborough* had only 10000 *l.* for the Contingencies; that and all the other *Items* joined together, amounted but to 30000 *l.* a Sum much inferiour to what had been formerly given; and yet, with this moderate expence, he had procured so good Intelligence, that he was never surprized, and no Party he sent out was ever intercepted or cut off. By means of this Intelligence, all his Designs were so well concerted, that he succeeded in every one of them, and by many instances, the exactness of his Intelligence was fully demonstrated. It was proved, both by Witnesses, and by formal Attestations from *Holland*, that ever since the Year 1672, the *Jews* had made the like Present to the General of the *States* Army; and it was understood as a Perquisite belonging to that Command: No Bargain was made with the *Jews* for the *English* Troops, that made by the *States* being applied to them; so that it appeared, that the making such a Pre-

1712. The Censure put on the Duke of *Marlborough*.

1712. sent to the General was customary; but that was denied: And they voted, the taking that Present to be illegal; and, tho' he had the Queen's Warrant to receive the Sixpence in the Pound, or Two and a half *per Cent.* deducted from the Pay of the Foreign Troops, yet that was voted to be unwarrantable, and that it ought to be accounted for. The Court espoused this with such zeal, and paid so well for it, that it was carried by a great Majority: Upon this, many virulent Writers (whether set on to it, or officiously studying to merit by it, did not appear) threw out, in many defamatory Libels, a great deal of their malice against the Duke of *Marlborough*: They compared him to *Catiline*, to *Crassus*, and to *Anthony*; and studied to represent him as a Robber of the Nation, and as a publick Enemy. This gave an indignation to all, who had a sense of Gratitude, or a regard to Justice. In one of these scurrilous Papers, wrote on design to raise the Rabble against him, one of the Periods began thus, *He was perhaps once fortunate.* I took occasion to let Prince *Eugene* see the spite of these Writers, and mentioned this passage; upon which he made this pleasant Reflection, That it was the greatest commendation could be given him, since he was always successful; so this implied, that in one single instance he might be fortunate, but that all his other Successes were owing to his Conduct. I upon that said, that single instance must be then his esca-

Many Libels against him.

at
a-
o'
ve
nd
ay
ed
to
his
at
on
ſet
by
de-
na-
ey
to
as
ick
ho
us-
rs,
nſt
vas
let
ers,
he
vas
ven
his
ght
ſes
hat
his
ſca-

escaping out of the hands of the Party, that took him, when he was sailing down the *Maese* in the boat. But their ill-will rested not in defamation; the Queen was prevailed on to send an Order to the Attorney General, to prosecute him for the 15000*l.* that was deducted yearly out of the Pay of the Foreign Troops, which he had received by her own Warrant: But what this will end in, must be left to time. 1712.

The Duke of *Ormond* was declared General, and had the first Regiment of Guards; and the Earl of *Rivers* was made Master of the Ordnance, in his room.

His Innocence appeared evidently.

Secret enquiries were made, in order to the laying more load on the Duke of *Marlborough*, and to see whether Posts in the Army, or in the Guards were sold by him; but nothing could be found: He had suffered a practice to go on, that had been begun in the late King's time of letting Officers sell their Commissions; but he had never taken any part of the price to himself. Few thought that he had been so clear in that matter; for it was the only thing, in which now his Enemies were confident, that some discoveries would have been made to his prejudice; so that the endeavours used, to search into those matters, producing nothing, raised the reputation of his incorrupt Administration, more than all his Well-wishers could have expected. Thus happy does sometimes the malice of an Enemy prove! In this whole Transaction we saw a new Scene of ingra-

1712. titude, acted in a moſt imprudent manner; when the Man, to whom the Nation owed more, than it had ever done in any Age to any Subject, or perhaps to any Perſon whatſoever, was for ſome months purſued with ſo much malice. He bore it with ſilence and patience, with an exteriour that ſeemed always calm and cheerfull; and, tho' he prepared a full Vindication of himſelf, yet he delayed publiſhing it, 'till the Nation ſhould return to its Senſes, and be capable of examining theſe matters, in a more impartial manner.

The *Scotch* Lords put in good hopes

The *Scotch* Lords, ſeeing no redreſs to their complaint, ſeemed reſolved to come no more to ſit in the Houſe of Peers; but the Court was ſenſible, that their ſtrength in that Houſe conſiſted chiefly in them, and in the new Peers: So Pains were taken, and ſecret forcible Arguments were uſed to them, which proved ſo effectual, that after a few days abſence, they came back, and continued, during the Seſſion, to ſit in the Houſe. They gave it out, that an Expedient would be found, that would be to the ſatisfaction of the Peers of *Scotland:* But, nothing of that appearing, it was concluded that the ſatisfaction was private, and perſonal. The great Arrear, into which all the regular payments, both of the Houſehold and of Salaries and Penſions was left to run, made it to be generally believed, that the Income for the Civil Liſt, tho' it exceeded the eſtabliſhment very far, was applied to other payments, which

r ;
ed
to
at-
th
nd
al-
re-
he
ld
ca-
ial

to
no
he
in
in
ſe-
m,
ew
ed,
ey
be
of
at
is-
eat
ts,
nd
ge-
he
ent
ts,
ch

which the Miniſters durſt not own. And, tho' ſecret practice on Members had been of a great while too common, yet it was believed, that it was at this time managed, with an extraordinary profuſion. 1712.

Thoſe, who were ſuſpected to have very bad deſigns, applied themſelves with great induſtry to drive on ſuch Bills, as they hoped would give the *Presbyterians* in *Scotland* ſuch Alarms, as might diſpoſe them to remonſtrate, that the Union was broken. They paſſed not all at once; but I ſhall lay them together, becauſe one and the ſame deſign was purſued in them all.

A Toleration was propoſed for the Epiſcopal Clergy, who would uſe the Liturgy of the Church of *England*; this ſeemed ſo reaſonable, that no oppoſition was made to it: one Clauſe put in it, occaſioned great complaints; the Magiſtrates, who by the Laws were obliged to execute the Sentences of the Judicatories of their *Kirk*, were by this Act required, to execute none of them. It was reaſonable to require them to execute no Sentences, that might be paſſed on any, for doing what was tolerated by this Act; but the carrying this to a general Clauſe, took away the Civil Sanction, which in moſt places is looked on as the chief, if not the only ſtrength of Church Power. Thoſe, who were to be thus tolerated, were required, by a day limited in

A Toleration to the *Engliſh* Liturgy in *Scotland*.

1712. the Act, to take the Oath of Abjuration: It was well known, that few, if any of them, would take that Oath; ſo to cover them from it, a Clauſe was put in this Act, requiring all the *Presbyterian* Miniſters to take it; ſince it ſeemed reaſonable, that thoſe of the legal Eſtabliſhment ſhould be required to take that, which was now to be impoſed on thoſe, who were only to be tolerated. It was well underſtood, that there were words in the Oath of Abjuration, to which the *Presbyterians* excepted. In the Act of Succeſſion, one of the Conditions on which the Succeſſor was to be received, was, his being of the Communion of the Church of *England*; and by the Oath of Abjuration, the Succeſſion was ſworn to, as limited by that Act; The Word *Limitation* imported only the Entail of the Crown; but it was ſuggeſted, that the Particle *As*, related to all the conditions in that Act. This was ſpread among ſo many of that perſuaſion, that it was believed a great party among them, would refuſe to take it: So a ſmall alteration was made by the Houſe of Lords of theſe Words, *As was limited*, into Words of the ſame ſenſe, *which was limited*; but thoſe, who intended to excuſe the Epiſcopal Party, who they knew were in the *Pretender*'s intereſts, from taking the Oath, were for keeping in thoſe words, which the *Presbyterians* ſcrupled. The Commons accordingly diſagreed to the Amendment made by the Lords; and they receding from it, the Bill paſs'd, as

Deſigns to provoke the *Presbyterians* there.

as it had been ſent up from the Commons. Another Act paſſed for diſcontinuing the Courts of Judicature, during ſome days at *Chriſtmas*, though the obſerving of Holidays was contrary to their Principles: This was intended only to irritate them. 1712.

Patronages reſtored.

After that, an Act was brought in, for the reſtoring of Patronages; theſe had been taken away by an Act in King *William*'s Reign: It was ſet up by the *Presbyterians*, from their firſt beginning, as a Principle, that Pariſhes had, from Warrants in Scripture, a Right to chuſe their Miniſters; ſo that they had always look'd on the Right of Patronage, as an Invaſion made on that: it was therefore urged, that ſince, by the Act of Union, *Presbytery*, with all its Rights and Privileges, was inalterably ſecured, and ſince their Kirk-Seſſion was a branch of their Conſtitution, the taking from them the Right of chuſing their Miniſters was contrary to that Act: Yet the Bill paſſed thro' both Houſes, a ſmall oppoſition being only made in either. By theſe ſteps the *Presbyterians* were alarmed, when they ſaw the ſucceſs of every motion that was made, on deſign to weaken and undermine their Eſtabliſhment.

The Barrier Treaty.

Another matter, of a more publick nature, was at this time ſet on foot. Both Houſes of Parliament had, in the Year, 1709, agreed in an Addreſs to the Queen that the Proteſtant Succeſſion might be ſecured by

1712. by a Guaranty, in the Treaty of Peace; and this was ſettled at the *Hague*, to be one of the Preliminaries: But when an end was put to the Conferences at *Gertruydenberg*, the Lord *Townſhend* was ordered to ſet on a Treaty with the *States* to that effect. They entertained it readily; but at the ſame time they propoſed, that *England* ſhould enter into a Guaranty with them, to maintain their Barrier; which conſiſted of ſome Places they were to garriſon, the Sovereignty of which was ſtill in the Crown of *Spain*; and of other Places, which had not belonged to that Crown, at the Death of King *Charles* the Second, but had been taken in the Progreſs of the War: for, by their agreement with us, they bore the charge of the Sieges, and ſo the Places taken were to belong to them: Theſe were chiefly *Liſle Tournay*, *Menin*, and *Doway*; and were to be kept ſtill by them. But as for thoſe Places, which, from the time of the Treaty of the *Pyrenees*, belonged to the *Spaniards*, they had been ſo ill looked after, by the *Spaniſh* Governours of *Flanders*, who were more ſet on enriching themſelves, and keeping a magnificent Court at *Bruſſels*, than on preſerving the Country; that neither were the Fortifications kept in due repair, nor the Magazines furniſhed, nor the Soldiers paid: So that whenſoever a War broke out, the *French* made themſelves very eaſily Maſters of Places ſo ill kept. The *States* had therefore propoſed, during this

this War, that the Sovereignty of thoſe Places ſhould continue ſtill to belong to the Crown of *Spain*; but they ſhould keep Garriſons in the ſtrongeſt and the moſt expoſed, in particular thoſe that lay on the *Lys* and the *Scheld*; and for the maintaining this, they asked 100000 *l.* a-year from thoſe Provinces; by which means they would be kept better and cheaper than ever they had been, while they were in the hands of the *Spaniards*: They alſo asked a free paſſage for all the Stores, that they ſhould ſend to thoſe Places. This ſeemed to be ſo reaſonable, that ſince the intereſt of *England*, as well as of the *States*, required that this Frontier ſhould be carefully maintained, the Miniſtry were ready to hearken to it. It was objected, that in caſe of a War between *England* and the *States*, the Trade of thoſe Provinces would be wholly in the hands of the *Dutch*; but this had been ſettled in the great Truce, which, by the Mediation of *France* and *England*, was made between the *Spaniards* and the *States*; There was a proviſional Order therein made, for the Freedom of Trade in thoſe Provinces; and that was turned to a perpetual one, by the Peace of *Munſter*. King *Charles* of *Spain* had agreed to the main of the Barrier; ſome Places on the *Scheld* were not neceſſary for a Frontier, but the *States* inſiſted on them, as neceſſary to maintain a Communication with the Frontier; the King of *Pruſſia* excepted likewiſe to ſome Places in 1712.

the

1712. the *Spaniſh Guelder*. The Lord *Townſhend* thought, that theſe were ſuch inconſiderable objections, that tho' his Inſtructions did not come up to every Particular, yet he ſigned the Treaty, known by the Name of the *Barrier Treaty*: By it the *States* bound themſelves to maintain the Queen's Title to her Dominions and the Proteſtant Succeſſion, with their whole Force; and *England* was reciprocally bound to aſſiſt them in maintaining this Barrier.

It was complained of.

The mercenary Writers, that were hired to defend the Peace, then projected with *France*, attacked this Treaty with great virulence, and by Arguments that gave juſt ſuſpicions of black deſigns: They ſaid, it was a diſgrace to this Nation, to engage any other State to ſecure the Succeſſion among us, which perhaps we might ſee cauſe to alter: Whereas by this Treaty, the *States* had an authority given them, to interpoſe in our Counſels. It was alſo ſaid, that if the *States* were put in poſſeſſion of all thoſe ſtrong Towns, they might ſhut us out from any ſhare of Trade in them, and might erect our Manufactures in Provinces, very capable of them: but it was anſwered, that this could not be done, as long as this Treaty continued in force, unleſs the Sovereign of the Country ſhould join with them againſt us. Some objected to the Settlement made at *Munſter*, as a Tranſaction when we were in ſuch confuſion at home, that we had no

Mi-

Miniſter there; but that Treaty had only rendred the Truce, and the proviſional Settlement made before, by the Mediation of *England* prepetual; and we had ſince acquieſced in that Settlement for above Sixty years. By examining into the particulars of the Treaty it appeared, that in ſome inconſiderable matters the Lord *Townſhend* had gone beyond the letter of his Inſtructions, in which he had ſo fully ſatisfied the Miniſtry, that tho' upon his firſt ſigning it, ſome exceptions had been taken, yet theſe were paſſed over, and the Treaty was ratified in form. 1712.

But the preſent Miniſtry had other views: They deſigned to ſet the Queen at liberty from her Engagements by theſe Alliances, and to diſengage her from Treaties. The Houſe of Commons went now very haſtily into ſeveral Reſolutions, that were very injurious to the *States*: They pretended, they had failed in the performance of all agreements, with relation to the Service, both at Sea and Land; and as to the Troops, that were to have been furniſhed in *Portugal* and *Savoy*, as well as the Subſidies due to thoſe Princes. They fell next on the *Barrier Treaty*; they gave it out, that the old Miniſtry deſigned to bring over an Army from *Holland*, whenſoever they ſhould, for other ends, pretend that the Proteſtant Suceſſion was in danger; and it was ſaid, there was no need of any foreign aſſiſtance to maintain it. In the Debate, it was inſiſted on,

1712. on, that it could be maintained ſafely no other way; it was not to be doubted, but the King of *France* would aſſiſt the *Pretender*; *England* was not inclined to keep up a Standing Army, in time of Peace, to reſiſt him: So, that we could not be ſafe any other way, as by having the *States* engaged, to ſend over their Army, if it ſhould be neceſſary. But Reaſon is a feeble thing, to bear down Reſolutions already taken; ſo the Houſe of Commons voted the Treaty dishonourable, and injurious to *England*; and that the Lord *Townſhend* had gone beyond his Inſtructions in ſigning it; and that he and all, who had adviſed and ratified that Treaty, were publick Enemies to the Kingdom. Theſe Votes were carried by a great majority, and were looked on as ſtrange preludes to a Peace. When the *States* heard, what Exceptions were taken to the *Barrier Treaty*, they wrote a very reſpectful Letter to the Queen, in which they offered to explain or mollify any part of it, that was wrong underſtood; but the Managers of the Houſe of Commons got all their Votes to be digeſted, into a well-compoſed inflaming Repreſentation, which was laid before the Queen; by it all the Allies, but moſt particularly the *States*, were charged for having failed in many particulars, contrary to their engagements. They alſo laid before the Queen the Votes they had made, with relation to the *Barrier Treaty*; and that they might name a great Sum, that would make

make a deep impreſſion on the Nation (which was ready to receive all things implicitly from them) they ſaid *England* had been, during the War, overcharged nineteen Millions, beyond what they ought to have paid; all which was caſt on the old Miniſtry. 1712.

The *States*, in anſwer to all this, drew up a large Memorial, in which every particular in the Repreſentation was examined, and fully anſwered: They ſent it over to their Envoy, who preſented it to the Queen; but no notice was taken of it; the end was already ſerved; and the entring into a diſcuſſion about it, could have no other effect, but to confound thoſe who drew it. The two firſt Heads of the *States* Memorial, that related to the Service at Sea and in *Flanders*, were printed here, and contained a full anſwer to all that was charged on them, as to thoſe matters, to the ample conviction of all, who examined the particulars. The Houſe of Commons ſaw the effect this was like to have; ſo they voted it a falſe, malicious, ſcandalous, and injurious Paper, and that the printing it was a breach of Privilege: And to ſtop the printing the other heads, they put the Printer in priſon: This was a Confutation, to which no Reply could be made; yet it ſeemed to be a confeſſion, that their Repreſentation could not be juſtified, when the Anſwer to it was ſo carefully ſtifled. The Houſe of Commons went next to repeal the Naturaliza- The *States* juſtify themſelves.

1712. tion Act, in which they met with no oppoſition.

The ſelf-denying Bill loſt.

The ſelf-denying Bill was brought into the Houſe of Commons, and as was ordinary, it paſſed eaſily there: the ſcandal of Corruption was now higher than ever; for it was believed Men were not only bribed for a whole Seſſion, but had new Bribes for particular Votes. The twelve new Peers being brought into the Houſe of Lords, had irritated ſo many there, that for two days, by all the judgments that could be made of the Houſe, the Bill was likely to have paſs'd that Houſe: But upon ſome prevailing arguments, ſecretly and dextrouſly applied to ſome Lords, an Alteration was made in it, by which it was loſt: For whereas the Bill, as it ſtood, was to take place after the determination of the preſent Parliament, this was altered, ſo as that it ſhould take place after the Demiſe of the Queen; ſo it was no more thought on.

The Houſe of Commons voted two Millions to be raiſed by a Lottery; for which a Fund was created that might pay both Principal and Intereſt in thirty-two Years.

The Treaty at *Utrecht* opened.

I look next to *Utrecht*, where the Treaty was opened: The Emperor and the Empire ſent their Miniſters very late and unwillingly thither; but they ſubmitted to the neceſſity of their affairs; yet with this condition, that the *French* Propoſals (for ſo the Propoſitions, that were formerly cal-

called Preliminaries, came to be named) 1712.
ſhould be no ground to proceed on; and
that a new Treaty ſhould be entred on,
without any regard to them. It was alſo
agreed, to ſave the loſs of time in ſettling
the Ceremonial, that the Plenipotentiaries
ſhould aſſume no Character of Dignity, 'till
all matters were adjuſted, and made ready
for ſigning. The firſt of *January* was the
day named for opening the Congreſs;
but they waited ſome time for the Allies:
In the beginning of *February* O. S. the
French made their Propoſals in a very high
ſtrain.

The *French* Propoſals.

They promiſed, that at the ſigning of
the Treaty they would own the Queen
and the Succeſſion to the Crown, as ſhe
ſhould direct; *Spain* and the *Weſt-Indies*
were to remain with King *Philip*; the Do-
minions in *Italy*, with the Iſlands, except
Sicily, were to go to the Emperor, and
the *Spaniſh Netherlands* to the Elector of
Bavaria: The Trade was to be regulated,
as it was before the War; ſome Places in
Canada were to be reſtored to *England*, with
the freedom of Fiſhery in *Newfoundland*;
but *Placentia* was to remain with the *French*:
Dunkirk was offered to be demoliſhed; but
Liſle and *Tournay* were to be given for it:
The *States* were to have their Demands
for the Barrier; and the Frontier between
France, the Empire, and *Italy*, was to be
the ſame, that it was before the War; by
which *Landau*, *Feneſtrella*, and *Exiles*, were

1712. to be reſtored to *France*. Theſe Demands were as extravagant, as any that *France* could have made, in the moſt proſperous ſtate of their Affairs: This filled the Allies with indignation, and heightned the jealouſy they had of a ſecret underſtanding, between the Courts of *England* and *France*.

The Death of the two *Dauphins*.

But a great change happened in the Affairs of *France*, at this very time, that their Plenipotentiaries were making their Demands at *Utrecht*: The *Dauphineſs* was taken ſuddenly ill of a ſurfeit, as it was given out, and died in three days; and within three or four days after that, the *Dauphin* himſelf died; and in a few days after him, his eldeſt Son, about five or ſix years old, died likewiſe; and his ſecond Son, then about three Years old, was thought to be in a dying condition: Theſe Deaths coming ſo quick one after another, ſtruck that Court: The King himſelf was for ſome days ill, but he ſoon recovered. Such repeated ſtrokes were look'd on with amazement: Poiſon was ſuſpected, as is uſual upon all ſuch occaſions; and the Duke of *Orleans* was generally charged with it: He was believed to have dealt much in Chymiſtry, and was an ambitious Prince. While he was in *Spain*, at the head of King *Philip*'s Army, he formed a Project to ſet him aſide, and to make himſelf King of *Spain*; in which, as the Lord *Townſhend* told me, he went ſo far, that he try'd to en-

engage Mr. *Stanhope*, to preſs the Queen and the *States* to aſſiſt him, promiſing to break with *France*, and to marry King *Charles*'s Dowager. This came to be diſcovered: He was upon that called out of *Spain*; and it was thought, that the only thing that ſaved him, was the King's kindneſs to his Natural Daughter, whom he had married. The King not only paſt it over; but ſoon after, he obliged the Duke of *Berry* to marry his Daughter: ſuch care had that old King taken, to corrupt the Blood of *France*, with the mixture of his ſpurious Iſſue. King *Philip* was not at all pleaſed with the Alliance; but wrote to his elder Brother, expoſtulating for his not oppoſing the marriage more vigorouſly; with which he profeſt himſelf ſo diſpleaſed, that he could not be brought to congratulate upon it. This Letter was ſent from *Madrid* to *Paris*; but was intercepted, and ſent to *Barcelona*, and from thence to the *Hague*; Dr. *Hare* told me, he read the original Letter. 1712.

The Character of the *Dauphin*.

The Duke of *Burgundy*, when he became *Daupbin*, upon his Father's death, had been let into the underſtanding the Secrets of Government; and as was given out, he had on many occaſions expreſſed a deep ſenſe of the miſeries of the People, with great ſentiments of Juſtice: He had likewiſe, in ſome Diſputes that Cardinal *de Noailles* had with the Jeſuits, eſpouſed his intereſts, and protected him. It was alſo be-

1712. believed, that he retained a great Affection to the Archbiſhop of *Cambray*, whoſe Fable of *Telemachus* carried in it the nobleſt Maxims poſſible, for the conduct of a wiſe and good Prince, and ſet forth that Station in ſhining Characters, but which were the reverſe of *Lewis* the XIVth's whole Life and Reign. Theſe things gave the *French* a juſt ſenſe of the loſs they had in his Death; and the apprehenſions of a Minority, after ſuch a Reign, ſtruck them with a great conſternation. Theſe Deaths, in ſo critical a time, ſeemed to portend, that all the vaſt Scheme which the King of *France* had formed, with ſo much perfidy and bloodſhed, was in a fair way to be ſoon blaſted. But I will go no further in ſo dark a proſpect.

An Indignation, appeared in both Houſes when the *French* Propoſals came over.

The *French* Propoſitions raiſed, among the true *Engliſh*, a juſt indignation; more particularly their putting off the owning the Queen, 'till the Treaty came to be ſigned: The Lord Treaſurer, to ſoften this ſaid, he ſaw a Letter, in which the King of *France* acknowledged her Queen; this was a Confeſſion that there was a private Correſpondence between them; yet the doing it by a Letter was no legal Act. In excuſe of this it was ſaid, that the late King was not owned by the *French*, till the Treaty of *Ryſwick* came to be ſigned: But there was a Mediator in that Treaty, with whom our Plenipotentiaries only negotiated; whereas there was no Mediator at *Utrecht*; ſo that the Queen was now, without any interpoſition, treating

treating with a Prince who did not own her Right to the Crown. The Propoſitions made by the *French* were treated here with the greateſt ſcorn; nor did the Miniſters pretend to ſay any thing in excuſe for them: And an Addreſs was made to the Queen, expreſſing a juſt indignation at ſuch a proceeding, promiſing her all aſſiſtance in carrying on the War, 'till ſhe ſhould arrive at a juſt and honourable Peace. 1712.

The Demands of the Allies.

The Allies did offer their Demands next, which ran as high another way: The Emperor asked the whole *Spaniſh* Monarchy; *England* asked the reſtoring *Newfoundland*, and the demoliſhing of *Dunkirk*; the *States* asked their whole *Barrier*; and every Allie asked Satisfaction to all the other Allies, as well as to himſelf: *England* and the *States* declared, that they demanded *Spain* and the *Weſt-Indies* for the Emperor; ſo the high Pattern ſet by the *French*, in their Demands, was to the full imitated by the Allies. The *French* ſet a day, for offering their Anſwer; but when the day came, inſtead of offering an Anſwer in writing, they propoſed to enter into verbal conferences, upon the Demands made on both ſides: This had indeed been practiſed in Treaties, where Mediators interpoſed; but that was not done, 'till the main Points were ſecretly agreed to. The Allies rejected this Propoſition, and demanded ſpecifick Anſwers in writing; ſo, till the beginning of *May*, the Treaty went on in a very languid manner, in many fruitleſs meetings; the

1712. *French* always ſaying, they had yet received no other orders: ſo that the Negotiation there was at a full ſtand.

Preparations for the Campaign.

The preparations for the Campaign were carrried on, by the Emperor and the *States*, with all poſſible vigour: Prince *Eugene* ſtaid three months in *England* in a fruitleſs Negotiation with our Court, and was ſent back, with general and ambiguous promiſes. The *States* gave him the ſupreme Command of their Army, and aſſured him that, in the execution of the Project that was concerted among them, he ſhould be put under no reſtraint by their Deputies or Generals, and that no Ceſſation of Arms ſhould be ordered, till all was ſettled by a General Peace. The Duke of *Ormond* followed him in *April*, well ſatisfied both with his Inſtructions and his Appointments; for he had the ſame allowances, that had been lately voted criminal in the Duke of *Marlborough*.

The *Pretender's* Siſter died.

At this time the *Pretender* was taken ill of the Small-Pox: He recovered of them; but his Siſter, who was taken with the ſame diſeaſe, died of it: She was, by all that knew her, admired as a moſt extraordinary perſon in all reſpects; inſomuch that a very great Character was ſpread of her, by thoſe who talked but indifferently of the *Pretender* himſelf: Thus he loſt a great ſtrength, which ſhe procured to him, from all who ſaw or convers'd with her. I turn next give an account of the Convocation.

There was a doubt ſuggeſted, whether the

the Queen's Licence did ſtill ſubſiſt, after a Prorogation by a Royal Writ: The Attorney General gave his opinion, that it was ſtill in force; upon which, the Biſhops went on with the Reſolution, in which the former Seſſion had ended, and ſent back to the Lower Houſe a Paper, which had been ſent to them from that Houſe in the former Seſſion, with ſuch amendments, as they thought proper: But then *Atterbury* ſtarted a new notion, That as, in a Seſſion of Parliament, a Prorogation put an end to all matters not finiſhed, ſo that they were to begin all a-new; the ſame rule was to be applied to Convocations, in purſuance of his favourite notion, that the Proceedings in Parliament were likewiſe to be obſerved amongſt them. The Biſhops did not agree to this; for, upon ſearching their Books, they found a courſe of Precedents to the contrary: And the Schedule, by which the Archbiſhop prorogued them, when the Royal Writ was ſent him, did in expreſs words continue all things, in the ſtate in which they were then, to their next meeting. Yet this did not ſatisfy *Atterbury* and his Party; ſo the Lower Houſe ordered him to lay the matter before the Attorney-General for his Opinion; he did that very partially, for he did not ſhew him the Paper ſent down by the Biſhops; he only gave him a very defective Abſtract of it: whereupon the Attorney-General gave him ſuch an Anſwer as he deſired, by which it was very plain, that he was

1712.

Proceedings in Convocation.

1712. not rightly informed about it. The Biſhops reſolved to adhere to the method of former Convocations, and not to begin matters afreſh, that had been formerly near finiſhed. By this means they were at a full ſtop, ſo that they could not determine thoſe points, which had been recommended to them by the Queen: But they entered upon new ones; there was then a Bill, in the Houſe of Parliament, for building fifty new Churches, in and about *London* and *Weſtminſter*; ſo an Office, for conſecrating Churches and Church-yards, was prepared: and probably this will be all the fruit, that the Church will reap from this Convocation.

Cenſure on *Whiſton*'s Book not confirmed by the Queen.

The Cenſure that was paſs'd on *Whiſton*'s Book, in the former Seſſion, had been laid before the Queen in due form for her Approbation: But at the opening of this Seſſion in *December*, the Biſhops finding that no return was come from the Throne in that matter, ſent two of their number, to receive her Majeſty's pleaſure in it; the Archbiſhop being ſo ill of the gout, that he came not among us all that winter. The Queen had put the Cenſure, that we had ſent her, into the hands of ſome of her Miniſters, but could not remember to whom ſhe gave it; ſo a new extract of it was ſent to her; and ſhe ſaid, ſhe would ſend her pleaſure upon it very ſpeedily: but none came during the Seſſion, ſo all further proceedings againſt him were ſtopped, ſince the Queen did not confirm

firm the ſtep, that we had made. This was not unacceptable to ſome of us, and to myſelf in particular: I was gone into my Dioceſs, when that Cenſure was paſſed; and I have ever thought, that the true intereſt of the Chriſtian Religion was beſt conſulted, when nice diſputing about Myſteries was laid aſide and forgotten. 1712.

An Inclination in ſome of the Clergy towards Popery.

There appeared at this time an inclination, in many of the Clergy, to a nearer approach towards the Church of *Rome*. *Hicks*, an ill-tempered Man, who was now at the Head of the *Jacobite* Party, had in ſeveral books promoted a notion, that there was a proper Sacrifice made in the *Euchariſt*, and had on many occaſions ſtudied to leſſen our averſion to Popery: The Supremacy of the Crown in Eccleſiaſtical matters, and the method in which the Reformation was carried, was openly condemned; one *Brett* had preached a Sermon, in ſeveral of the Pulpits of *London*, which he afterwards printed; in which he preſſed the neceſſity of Prieſtly Abſolution, in a ſtrain beyond what was pretended to even in the Church of *Rome*: He ſaid no Repentance could ſerve without it, and affirmed, that the Prieſt was veſted, with the ſame power of pardoning, that our Saviour himſelf had. A motion was made in the Lower Houſe of Convocation, to cenſure this; but it was ſo ill ſupported, that it was let fall. Another conceit was taken up, of the invalidity of Lay-Baptiſm,

1712. Baptiſm, on which ſeveral Books have been writ; nor was the Diſpute a trifling one, ſince by this notion, the Teachers among the Diſſenters paſſing for Lay-Men, this went to the re-baptizing them and their Congregations.

Dodwell's Notions. *Dodwell* gave the riſe to this conceit; he was a very learned Man, and led a ſtrict life; he ſeemed to hunt after Paradoxes in all his writings, and broached not a few: He thought none could be ſaved, but thoſe who, by the Sacraments, had a federal right to it; and that theſe were the Seals of the Covenant: So that he left all, who died without the Sacraments, to the uncovenanted mercies of God; and to this he added, that none had a right to give the Sacraments, but thoſe who were commiſſioned to it; and theſe were the Apoſtles, and after them Biſhops and Prieſts ordained by them: It followed upon this, that Sacraments adminiſtred by others were of no value. He purſued theſe notions ſo far, that he aſſerted that the Souls of Men were naturally mortal, but that the immortalizing virtue was conveyed by Baptiſm, given by perſons Epiſcopally ordained. And yet, after all this, which carried the Epiſcopal Function ſo high, he did not lay the Original of that Government, on any Inſtruction or Warrant in the Scripture; But thought it was ſet up, in the beginning of the ſecond Century, after the Apoſtles were all dead. He wrote very doubtfully of the time, in which

which the Canon of the New Teſtament was ſettled; he thought it was not before the ſecond Century, and that an extraordinary inſpiration was continued in the Churches to that very time, to which he aſcribed the Original of Epiſcopacy. This ſtrange and precarious Syſtem was in great credit among us; and the neceſſity of the Sacrament, and the invalidity of eccleſiaſtical Functions, when performed by perſons, who were not Epiſcopally ordained, were entertained by many with great applauſe: This made the Diſſenters paſs for no Chriſtians, and put all thoughts of reconciling them to us far out of view: And ſeveral little Books were ſpread about the Nation, to prove the neceſſity of rebaptizing them, and that they were in a ſtate of damnation 'till that was done; but few were, by theſe Arguments, prevailed upon to be re-baptized: This ſtruck even at the Baptiſm by Midwives in the Church of *Rome*; which was practiſed and connived at here in *England*, 'till it was objected in the Conference, held at *Hampton-Court*, ſoon after King *James* the firſt's Acceſſion to the Crown, and Baptiſm was not 'till then limited to perſons in Orders. Nothing of this kind was ſo much as mentioned in the year 1660, when a great part of the Nation had been baptized by Diſſenters; but it was now promoted with much heat. 1712.

The Biſhops thought it neceſſary to put a ſtop to this new and extravagant Doctrine;

1712. trine; ſo a Declaration was agreed to, firſt againſt the irregularity of all Baptiſm by Perſons, who were not in Holy Orders; but that yet, according to the Practice of the primitive Church, and the conſtant uſage of the Church of *England*, no Baptiſm (in or with water, in the Name of the Father, Son and Holy Ghoſt) ought to be reiterated. The Archbiſhop of *York* at firſt agreed to this; ſo it was reſolved to publiſh it, in the name of all the Biſhops of *England*; but he was prevailed on to change his mind; and refuſed to ſign it, pretending that this would encourage irregular Baptiſm: So the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, with moſt of the Biſhops of his Province, reſolved to offer it to the Convocation. It was agreed to in the Upper Houſe, the Biſhop of *Rocheſter* only diſſenting: But when it was ſent to the Lower Houſe, they would not ſo much as take it into conſideration, but laid it aſide; thinking that it would encourage thoſe, who ſtruck at the dignity of the Prieſthood. This was all that paſs'd in Convocation.

The Biſhops deſigned to condemn the rebaptizing Diſſenters.

But the Clergy did not agree to it.

Great Supplies given.

The Supplies demanded were given, in all about ſix Millions; there were two Lotteries of 1,800,000 *l.* a-piece, beſides the Four Shillings in the Pound, and the Malt Bill. A Motion was made for a Clauſe, to be put in one of the Lottery Bills, for a Commiſſion to enquire into the value and conſideration of all the Grants, made by King *William*. The Miniſters apprehended the

the difficulty of carrying a Money-Bill, with a Tack to it, thro' the Houſe of Lords; ſo they prevailed to get it ſeparated from the Money-Bill, and ſent up in a particular one; and undertook to carry it. When it came up to the Houſe of Lords, a great party was made againſt it; thoſe who continued to pay a reſpect to the Memory of King *William*, thought it was a very unbecoming return to him, who had delivered the Nation from Slavery and Popery, to caſt ſo particular an indignity on his Grants: The Bill made all its ſteps thro' the Houſe of Lords to the laſt, with a ſmall majority of one or two. The Earl of *Nottingham* was abſent the firſt two days, but came to the Houſe on the laſt; he ſaid, he always thought thoſe Grants were too large, and very unſeaſonably made; but he thought there ought to be an equal way of proceeding in that matter; they ought either to reſume them all, or to bring all concerned in them, to an equal compoſition: He therefore could not approve of this Bill, which by a very clear conſequence would put it in the power of a fellow-Subject, to reſume or to cover Grants, at his pleaſure; and ſo it would put the Perſons, concerned in the Grants, into too great a dependance on him. At the laſt reading of the Bill ſeventy eight, in Perſon or by Proxy, were for the Bill; and as many were againſt it: The Votes being equal, by the Rule of the Houſe, the Negative 1712.

1712. gative carried it: So, for that time, the Bill was loſt.

The Duke of *Ormond* ordered not to act offenſively.

During the Seſſion, Reports were often given out, that all things were agreed, and that the Treaty was as good as finiſhed: But new ſtories were ſet on foot, and pretended delays, to put off the expectation of Peace; however, in the end of *May*, we were ſurprized with Letters from the Camp, which told us, that the Army of the Allies being joined, was 25000 Men ſtronger than the *French*; an advantage that they never had before, during the whole courſe of the War. That Prince *Eugene* therefore propoſed, that that they ſhould march towards the head of the *Scheld*, where the *French* Army lay, and upon their advancing the *French* would be obliged, either to venture on Action, or to retire; and in that caſe *Cambray* would be left open to the Allies, to ſit down before it. The Council of War agreed to this, but to their great ſurprize, the Duke of *Ormond* ſhewed Orders, not to act offenſively againſt the *French*; he ſeemed to be very uneaſy with theſe Orders, but ſaid he muſt obey them. This was much reſented by the whole Army, and by the Miniſters of the Allies at the *Hague* and at *Utrecht*; And it ſtruck us here in *England* with amazement.

Motions were made upon it, in both Houſes of Parliament; for it ſeemed, we were neither to have Peace nor War: So it was propoſed, that an Addreſs ſhould be

be made to the Queen, that she would set the Duke of *Ormond* at liberty, to act in concurrence with the other Generals, and carry on the War, so as to obtain a good Peace. Those who opposed this, asked, what proofs they had, of what was said, concerning the Duke of *Ormond*'s Orders; they had only private Letters, which were not produced. So, it was said, there was not ground enough to found an Address upon, which ought not to be made, on bare reports. The Ministers would neither confess, nor deny the matter, pretending the Oath of secrecy; yet they affirmed the Duke of *Ormond* was at liberty to cover a Siege. 1712.

A separate Peace disowned by the Lord Treasurer.

That which prevailed in both Houses, to hinder the Address, was, that the Ministers in both did affirm, that the Peace was agreed on, and would be laid before them in three or four days. It was upon that suggested, that this must be a separate Peace, since the Allies knew nothing of it. The Lord Treasurer said, a separate Peace was so base, so knavish, and so villainous a thing, that every one who served the Queen knew, they must answer it with their Heads to the Nation: but it would appear to be a safe and a glorious Peace, much more to the Honour and Interest of the Nation, than the Preliminaries that were agreed to, three Years before: He also affirmed, that the Allies knew of it, and were satisfied with it: So the motion fell, and all were in great

1712. expectation, to see what a few days would produce. In order to this, it was proposed to examine into all the Proceedings at the *Hague*, and at *Gertruydenbergh*, in the Years 1709 and 1710; this was set on by a Representation made by the Earl of *Strafford*; for he affirmed in the House of Lords, that those matters had not been fairly represented; he said, he had his information from one of the two, who had been imployed in those Conferences: By this, it was plain he meant *Buys*. Lord *Townshend* had informed the House, that those who treated with the *French* at *Gertruydenbergh* did, at their return, give an account of their Negotiation to the Ministers of the Allies, in the Pensioner's presence, before they reported it to the *States* themselves: But upon this, this Earl of *Strafford* said, they had been first secretly with the Pensioner, who directed them both what to say, and what to suppress. Upon this, the House made an Address to the Queen, desiring her to lay before them all that passed at that time, and in that Negotiation: But nothing followed upon this; for it was said to be designed only to amuse the House.

The Queen, by the Bishop of *Bristol* said she was free from all her Treaties with the *States*.

Surprizes came at this time quick one after another: At *Utrecht*, on the second of *June* N.S. the Plenipotentiaries of the *States* expostulated with the Bishop of *Bristol*, upon the Orders sent to the Duke of *Ormond*: He answered, he knew nothing of them; but said, he had received a Letter, two days before,

fore, from the Queen, in which she com- 1712.
plained that, notwithstanding all the advances she had made, to engage the *States* to enter with her upon a Plan of Peace, they had not answered her as they ought, and as she hoped they would have done; therefore she did now think herself at liberty, to enter into separate measures, to obtain a Peace for her own convenience. The Plenipotentiaries said, this was contrary to all their Alliances and Treaties; they thought that, by the deference they had shewed her, on all occasions, they had merited much better usage from her: They knew nothing of any advances made to them, on a Plan of Peace. The Bishop replied, that considering the conduct of the *States*, the Queen thought herself disengaged from all Alliances and Engagements with them: The Bishop did not in expres words name the *Barrier Treaty*; but he did not except it: So they reckoned it was included, in the general words he had used. This did not agree, with what the Lord Treasurer had said in the House of Lords: And when the *States* Envoy complained to him, of these Declarations made them by the Bishop, all the Answer he made was, *that he was certainly in a very bad humour, when he talked at that rate.*

The Queen laid before the Parliament the Plan of the Peace.

On the fifth of *June*, the Queen came to the Parliament, and told them on what terms a Peace might be had: King *Philip* was to renounce the Succession to the Crown of

1712. *France*, if it ſhould devolve on him; and this was to execute itſelf, by putting the next to him into the Succeſſion: *Sicily* was to be ſeparated from *Spain*, tho' it was not yet ſettled, who ſhould have it. The Proteſtant Succeſſion was to be ſecured; and he who had pretended to the Crown, was no more to be ſupported. *Dunkirk* was to be demoliſhed, and *Newfoundland* to be delivered to *England*. *Gibraltar* and *Port Mahon* were to remain in our hands: We were alſo to have the *Aſſiento*, a word importing, the furniſhing the *Spaniſh Weſt-Indies* with Slaves from *Africa*. The *Dutch* were to have their *Barrier*, except two or three Places: And due regard would be had to all our Allies.

Addreſſes of both Houſes upon it.

Both Houſes agreed to make Addreſſes of thanks to the Queen, for communicating this Plan to them; deſiring her to *finiſh it*: An Addition to theſe laſt Words, *in conjunction with her Allies*, was moved in both Houſes; that ſo there might be a Guaranty ſecured for the maintaining the terms of the Treaty: But it was rejected, by a great majority in both Houſes. It was ſaid, in oppoſition to it, that it would ſubject the Queen and the whole Treaty, to the pleaſure of the Allies, who might prove backward and intractable: And ſince *England* had born the greateſt ſhare of the burthen of the War, it was reaſonable that the Queen ſhould be the Arbiter of the Peace. On the other hand it was ſaid, that

that if the Allies did not enter into a Guaranty, we muſt depend on the Faith of the *French*, and be at their mercy; and ſo have nothing to truſt to, but the Promiſes of a Court noted, in a courſe of many years, for a train of perfidy: But many had formed an obſtinate Reſolution to get out of the War on any terms; So nothing that was offered, that ſeemed to obſtruct the arriving ſpeedily at that end, was heard with patience; and no regard was had to the Faith of Treaties: Yet both Houſes obſerved one Caution, not to expreſs their being ſatisfied with the Plan of the Peace, tho' it was covertly inſinuated. Mention was alſo made of our Treaties with our Allies, and of the Proteſtant Succeſſion: The Lords, who had all along proteſted againſt the ſteps, that the Court had taken, entred the Reaſons of their proteſting againſt the Negative, put on adding the Words, *in conjunction with her Allies*, and on the former Vote, concerning the Orders ſent to the Duke of *Ormond*: Theſe carried in them ſuch juſt and ſevere Reflections on the Miniſtry, as running the Nation into an open Breach of publick Truſt, and putting every thing into the hands of the *French*; that by the ſtrength of the majority they were expunged: Yet they were printed, and copies of them were ſent over the Nation; but nothing could break thro' that inſenſibility, which had ſtupified the People. A new 1712.

1712. set of Addresses ran about, full of gross Flattery, magnifying the present Conduct, with severe reflections on the former Ministry, which some carried back to King *William*'s Reign: Some of these Addresses mentioned the Protestant Succession, and the House of *Hanover*, with zeal; others did it more coldly; and some made no mention at all of it: And it was universally believed, that no Addresses were so acceptable to the Ministers, as those of the last sort.

The end of the Session of Parliament.

About the middle of *June*, the Session of Parliament came to an end: The Queen in her Speech said, she was glad to find they approved of her Scheme of Peace, tho' that was in none of the Addresses; many, who intended to merit by their officious Zeal, had indeed magnified it in both Houses, but it was not in either of their Addresses. The Earl of *Strafford* was again sent over, to induce the *States* to accept the offers, that the *French* were making, and to consent to a Cessation of Arms.

The Duke of *Ormond* proclaims a Cessation of Arms, and left Prince *Eugene*'s Army.

Prince *Eugene* ordered *Quesnoy* to be besieged; and he, in conjunction with the Duke of *Ormond*, covered the Siege; but, when the Place was so streightned, that it could not hold out above two or three Days, the Duke of *Ormond* sent Prince *Eugene* word, that he had Orders to proclaim a Cessation of Arms for two months. Prince *Eugene* disagreeing to this, he signified

fied his Orders to all the *German* Troops, that were in the Queen's Pay: But the *States* and the Emperor had foreſeen that this might happen, and had negotiated ſo effectually with the Princes, to whom theſe Troops belonged, that they had ſent Orders to their Generals, to continue with Prince *Eugene*, and to obey his Command. This they repreſented to the Duke of *Ormond*; and he upon that told them, they ſhould have neither Bread nor Pay nor their Arrears, if they refuſed to obey his orders. This laſt ſeemed unjuſt, ſince they had ſerved hitherto, according to agreement; ſo that their Arrears could not be detained, with any colour of Juſtice. *Queſnoy* capitulated, and the Garriſon were made Priſoners of War. It was ſaid, that the Court of *France* had promiſed, to put *Dunkirk* in the Queen's hands, as a ſure pledge of performing all that they had ſtipulated, in order to a general Peace; this was executed, in the beginning of *July*; and a Body of our Troops, with a Squadron of Ships, were ſent to take poſſeſſion of the Place. The Duke of *Ormond* made a ſecond attempt, on the Generals of the *German* Troops, to ſee if they would agree to the Ceſſation of Arms: But they excuſed themſelves, upon the Orders they had received from their Maſters: So he proclaimed the Ceſſation, at the Head of the *Engliſh* Troops; upon which, he ſeparated himſelf from Prince *Eugene*'s Army, and retired to *Ghent*

1712.

Queſnoy taken.

1712. and *Bruges*, poſſeſſing himſelf of them. The fortified Places, near the Frontier, had Orders to let the Officers paſs through, but not to ſuffer the Troops to poſſeſs themſelves of them. The withdrawing the *Engliſh* Forces in this manner, from the Confederate Army, was cenſured, not only as a manifeſt breach of Faith and of Treaties, but as treacherous in the higheſt and baſeſt degree. The Duke of *Ormond* had given the *States* ſuch aſſurances, of his going along with them thro' the whole Campaign, that he was let into the ſecrets of all their Counſels, which by that confidence were all known to the *French*: And, if the auxiliary *German* Troops had not been prepared to diſobey his Orders, it was believed he, in conjunction with the *French* Army, would have forced the *States* to come into the new meaſures: But that was happily prevented. Yet all this Conduct of our General was applauded at home as great, juſt and wiſe; and our People were led to think it a kind of Triumph, upon *Dunkirk*'s being put into our hands; not conſidering, that we had more truly put our ſelves into the hands of the *French*, by this open breach of Faith; after which, the Confederates could no longer truſt or depend on us. Nor was this only the Act of the Court and Miniſtry, but it became the Act of the Nation, which by a general voice did not only approve of it, but applaud it.

Prince

Prince *Eugene*'s next Attempt was upon *Landrecy*, in which it ſeemed probable that he would ſucceed; but this proſpect, and indeed the whole Campaign, had a fatal Reverſe: There was a Body of 8000 or 10000 Men poſted at *Denain*, on the *Scheld*, commanded by the Earl of *Albemarle*, to ſecure the conveying Bread and Ammunition to the Army, and to the Siege. *Villars* made a Motion, as if he deſigned to give Prince *Eugene* Battle; but after a Feint that way, he turned quick upon this Body, that lay on both ſides of the River, with only one Bridge of Pontoons: The reſt had been ſent to the Siege of *Landrecy*; and there was not a ſupply of more brought. That Bridge, with the Weight that was on it, broke; ſo the Bodies could not be joined: But Military Men aſſured me, that, if it had not been for that misfortune, *Villars*'s Attempt might have turned fatally on himſelf, and to the ruin of his whole Army. But in concluſion, he gave them a total defeat, and ſo made himſelf Maſter of thoſe Poſts, which they were to defend. This opened a new Scene; it not only forced the raiſing the Siege of *Landrecy*, but gave *Villars* an occaſion to ſeize on *Marchiennes*, and ſome other Places, where he found great Stores of Artillery and Ammunition; and furniſhed him likewiſe, with an Opportunity of ſitting down before *Doway*. What errours were committed, either in the Councils or

1712.

Landrecy beſieged.

A great Loſs at *Denain* brought a Reverſe on the Campaign.

1712. Orders, or in the execution of them, and at whoſe door theſe ought to be laid, is far above my underſtanding in Military matters: But be that as it will, this misfortune ſerved not a little to raiſe the Duke of *Marlborough*'s Character, under whoſe command no ſuch thing had ever happened. The effects of this diſgrace were great; *Douay* was taken, after a long and brave defence; Prince *Eugene* tried to raiſe the Siege, but did not ſucceed in it: indeed the *States* would not put things to ſo great a venture, after ſuch a loſs; the Garriſon were made Priſoners of War. *Queſnoy* was next beſieged; the great Artillery, that had been employed in the Siege, were left in the place: The Garriſon improved that advantage; ſo that the taking it coſt the Enemy very dear.

Diſtractions at the *Hague*.

Theſe loſſes created a great diſtraction in the Counſels at the *Hague*; many were inclined to accept of a Ceſſation; the Emperor and the Princes of the Empire made great offers to the *States*, to perſuade them to continue the War; at the ſame time, the *French* grew very inſolent upon their ſucceſſes, and took occaſion, from a quarrel between the Footmen of one of the *Dutch* Plenipotentiaries, and one of theirs, to demand an extravagant Reparation; which the *Dutch* not complying with, a full ſtop was put to all proceedings at *Utrecht*, for ſome Months. Our Court took ſome pains to remove that obſtruction; but the *French* King's

PLAN, ou CARTE PARTICULIERE

Representant

Les divers Mouvements des Armées des Alliées, sous le Commandement de S. A. S. Monseign.r Le Prince

EUGENE de SAVOYE.

Et de L'Armée Françoise Commandée par M.r le Marechal

DE VILLARS.

Depuis le Commencement de la Campagne 1712.
Jusques au 24.e Juillet de la mesme Année
Que L'Armée Ennemie Attacqua le Camp
Retranché à Denain sous le Commandement de S. E. Mylord

ALBEMARLE.

EXPLICATION

a. Campement des Troupes des Garnisons de la Frontiere, occupé par Mylord Albemarle le 23.e Avril 1712. après avoir tenté le passage de la Sencette.

b. Campement où les Armées des Alliez se sont formées en Avril et May.

c. Retranchement qu'on fit le 2.e May, occupé par le General Fagel avec 40. battaillons pour s'asseurer du passage de L'Escaut.

d. Campement où L'Armée des Ennemis s'est formée dans le mois de May, et où elle a resté jusques au 19.e Iuillet.

e. Campement, que les Armées des Alliez ont occupé le 26.e May après avoir passé L'Escaut à Neuville et Lourche.

f. Retranchement fait le 26.e May, et occupé par Mylord Albemarle le mesme jour, pour etablir la Communication avec L'Armée.

g. Vielles Lignes des Ennemis, qui subsistent encore.

h. Ligne de Communication faite à la fin du mois de May, pour asseurer le passage des Convois contre les partis Ennemis.

i. Le Parc de Beaurepaire, occupé le 31.e May par 4. battaillons renforcés le 23.e Iuillet par 2. autres.

k. Campement que les Armées des Alliez ont occupé le 7.e Iuin pour couvrir le siege du Quesnoy.

l. Investiture et siege du Quesnoy commencé le 8.e Iuin par 30. battaillons et 20. esquadrons, et fini le 4.e Iuillet.

m. Retranchement pour couvrir les deux ponts de pontons a Denain, occupé en suite par un battaillon.

n. Nouvelle Ligne de Communication de Denain à Thian.

o. Pont de Communication à Thian, avec la Grande Armée.

p. Six battaillons Imperiaux et Palatins qui ont occupé la dite Ligne le 17.e Iuillet.

q. Campement de L'Armée des Alliez, occupé le 16.e Iuillet pour couvrir le siege de Landrechies.

r. Investiture de Landrechies faite le 17.e Iuillet par M.r Le Prince d'Anhalt, avec 30. batt.s et 30. esq.s et les Lignes de Circonvallation.

s. Campement que les Ennemis occuperent le 19.e Iuillet, après avoir passé L'Escaut au dessus, et au dessous de Cambray.

t. Campement que les Ennemis occuperent le 20.e Iuillet.

v. Retranchement que M.r Le Prince de Savoye fit faire le mesme jour, pour garder la Communication avec Le P.r d'Anhalt.

x. Douze batt.s qui occuperent ce Retranchement le 21.e Iuillet.

x. Mouvemens des Ennemis le 22.e et le 23.e Iuillet, pour nous persuader qu'ils vouloient attaquer la Ligne de Circonvallation à Landrechies, pour nous en empecher le siege.

y. Ponts qu'ils avoient fait sur la Sambre, pour attaquer Le P.r d'Anhalt comme ils faisoient courir le bruit.

z. Marche precipitée et derobée des Ennemis le 23.e Iuillet, à l'entrée de la nuit pour attaquer le Retranchement à Denain.

1. Ponts qu'ils Ennemis firent à Neuville le 24.e à la pointe du jour.

2. Marche de L'Armée Françoise, après avoir passé L'Escaut.

3. Mouvement que Mylord Albemarle fit avec sa Cavallerie, pour empecher les Ennemis de passer L'Escaut.

4. Terrain où notre Cavallerie fut postée en suite, n'ayant pu attaquer les Ennemis qui avoient déja passé en partie L'Escaut, à cause de leur Superiorité.

5. Marche de la Garnison de Valencienne, qui sortit le 24.e Iuillet au matin consistant en 19. batt.s et un Reg.t de Dragons.

6. Sept Esquadrons Imperiaux que Mylord Albemarle fit sortir pour observer la dite Garnison.

7. Quelques Escadrons de notre Cavallerie que Mylord Albemarle fit sortir pour empecher aux Ennemis le passage de nos lignes de Communication, manœuvre qu'on trouva impracticable, les Ennemis les ayant déja bordées de leur Infanterie.

8. Terrain où L'Armée des Ennemis se rangea en bataille, l'Infanterie devant et la Cavallerie derriere.

9. Terrain où la Garnison de Valencienne se rangea en bataille.

10. Campement des 10. battaillons et 23. Esquadrons qui etoient dans le retranchement avant L'Attacque, la Cavallerie ayant en suite repassé L'Escaut par ordre de M.r Le Prince de Savoye.

11. Le Parc d'Artillerie, pour garder les Ammunitions qui seroient aux sieges, qu'on fit venir de Marchiennes.

12. Gardes du Camp avant L'Attaque.

13. Les deux ponts de Pontons à Denain, dont l'un avoit été envoyé par ordre exprès à la Grande Armée le 19.e Iuillet, pour servir au siege de Landrechies. on travailla en suitte à un pont de bois pour y suppleer, lequel auroit été achevé le Iour de L'attacque.

14. Les 10. battaillons postez derriere le retranchement, comme aussi les Six battaillons Imperiaux et Palatins qui etoient campez auparavant dans la Ligne de Communication n. que M.r Le Prince de Savoye avoit envoyez pour renforcer les troupes dans le retranchement.

15. Une Colomne composée des Dragons des Ennemis à qui on avoit fait mettere pied à terre, pour attaquer la gauche du Retranchement, le long des prairies qui cotoient L'Escaut.

16. Deux Colomnes d'Infanterie, composées de 80. Compagnies de grenadiers, le piquet de L'armée et 30. battallons pour attaquer le retranchement au centre.

17. Une Ligne d'Infanterie pour soutenir, composée de 30. battallons suivie du reste de L'Infanterie et de la Cavallerie de L'Armée.

Ces troupes attaquerent le retranchement brusquement à une heure après midy, pour ne pas laisser du temps pour recevoir du secours, la Colomne du milieu attaqua la redoute au centre, où le Retranchement etant pierreux, et au plus foible se boula d'abord. les nôtres les receurent avec un grand feu, mais les derniers de la Colomne ayant presqué les premiers sur le parapet, ils entrerent dans le Retranchement et pousserent nos gens la bayonette au bout du fusil, ainsi qu'etant enveloppés par la multitude, la confusion semit dans quelques Regiments qui plierent. le front des Ennemis augmentant à mesure qu'ils entrerent, et ayant pris nos gens en flanc et à dos, il ne fut plus possible de les rallier, etant accablés par la Superiorité des Ennemis. Mylord Albemarle après avoir fait tous les efforts imaginables pour rallier les fuyards diverses fois mais inutilement fut pris prisonnier avec le Lieut. G.l Secking les Generaux Majors P.e de Holstein, Dalberg, et Zobel, 5. Collonels, 6 L.ts Collonels, 5. Majors, 44. Capitaines, 109. Subalternes, 2080. Soldats et 58. Cavaliers, outre 4. Aides de Camp. plusieurs de nos gens furent tuez, plusieurs se noyerent, parmi les derniers etoient le L.t G.l Comte de Dhona, et le G.l M.r Comte de Nassau Woudenberg; et le reste s'etant sauvé s'en revint en suite à L'Armée, au nombre de 2080. hommes.

18. Quatorze batt.s pour soutenir, mais qui ne purent passer avant l'attaque, le pont etant embarassé par la Cavallerie et les bagages et s'etant mesme rompu en suite.

19. Redoute ou le P.e de Savoye s'est trouvé jusqu'à la fin de L'action, et d'où il pouvoit tout voir pour donner les ordres.

N.B. L'Armée des Ennemis consistoit en 133. batt.s et 250. esq.s et se campa, après avoir forcé et emporté le Retranchement, la gauche à Hurtebize, le centre à Escaudain, et la droite à Marque, passé Bouchain, la 1.e Ligne faisant front vers L'Escaut, et la 2.e vers L'Escarpe.

Echelle de deux Lieues de Brabant.

Se vend à la Haye chez I. Iohnson Libraire.

QUESNOY

Chateau Cambresis

Forest de Mormale

LANDRECHIES

d'Arouaise

BOUCHAIN

Condé

Vicogne R.

Escaupont

Amblise

Onaing

Quiercheschin

Marchipont

Couroube

Curgies

Sebourg

Estroeun

Ramblies

Angreau

Angre

Wargnies

Villerspaul

Orchinzal

Petit Wargnies

Frasnoit

Villereau

Bermerain

Bazuegnies

La Chapelle

Escarmain

Vertain

Neuville les Scalesche

Sculesche

Roucour

Engle Fontaine

Vendegis au Bois

Preux au Bois

Peaurain

Croix

Briaste

Couchy

Heurtevent

Folemprise

Pommereu

Blasiau

Ors

Bousyes

Fontaine au Bois

Robert Sart

Pont St. Esprit

Val Dieu

Masseeour

Bloeu

Regnicour

Wasigny

Maineerel

Manaplos

Vencrolle

Estreu

Fouraime

Quebries

Iaxois

la Neuville

Dorant

le Dorant

la Vacqueresse

Tupigny

Pet. Verly

le Grand Marly

Molain

Vaux en Arouaise

Vallée Mulatte

Ribauville

Bousies

Maroilles

Longfaüt

Lafolie

Iqueril

Berzil

Pardevoc

Les Mottaux

Le Sart

Bouez

Berques

Robiseu

Gouy

Beaurevoir

Premont

Gillecour

Bohain

Brancour

Brascour

Becquegnies

Becquignette

Ellincour

Escaufour

Jeboncour

Fresnoy le Grand

Estaro

Prael

Yoncour

Monbreham

Iennechies

Rosteule

Ramicour

Emicour

Noroy

Bellicour

Follemprise

Source

Sanguy

Blenguignon

Malmaison

Reumont

Mauroir

Marais

Matincour

Monival

Marcluis

Hannechy

Bußigny

Serain

Villers

Maillard

Aubeche

Belcuse

Raucour

Monticour

Iaucourt

Villers Cauchy

Montrecour

Sommain

Saulsoy

Logery

Verdegnies

Rueme

Martre

Maresche

Sepmeries

Vicogne

Orchies

Rumilly

Boignot

Vieugny

Etourmel

Chantemerle

Betencour

Beaumont

Rembouillet

Bertines

Ligny

Tronquoy

Diamby

Lesdain

Esnes

Caulery

Clary

Montigny

Trois Villes

Categnieres

Bisel

Clermont

Quiecy

Berillers

Bousieres

St. Vast

Carnieres

Cagnoncle

Escaudeuvre

Nave

Ricu

St. Hilaire

Solemne

Iwuy

Aigret

Epinoy

Court

Escaudain

Aubencheul

Masnieres

Abscons

Marchiennes

Fontenelle

Aubroit

Mauchin

Maing

Thian

Famars

Preseau

Genlain

Pont à Pommeraux

Ste. Aubert

St. Aubert

St. Python

Romeries

Vertigneux

Iwuy

Ecaillon

Ruyaulcourt

Ruyaulcourt

Ruyaulcourt

King's Pride being now again in exaltation, he was intractable. *St. John*, being made Viſcount *Bolingbroke*, was ſent over with ſecret Inſtructions, to the Court of *France*; where, as it was believed, the Peace was fully concluded: But all, that was publiſhed upon his return, was a new Ceſſation of Arms, both by Sea and Land, for four Months longer. Duke *Hamilton* was named to go Ambaſſador to *France*, and Lord *Lexington* to *Spain*. The Earl of *Strafford* continued to preſs the *States*, to come into the Queen's meaſures, which 'twas ſaid he managed with great imperiouſneſs: The *States* reſolved to offer their Plan to the Queen, in which they preſſed the reſtoring *Straxbourg* to the Empire, to have *Valenciennes* demoliſhed, and *Condé* added to their Barrier, and that the old *Tariff* for Trade ſhould be again reſtored. 1712.

The Renunciation of the Succeſſions in *Spain* and *France*.

The Lord *Lexington* went firſt to *Spain*, where the *Cortes* were ſummoned, in which that King did ſolemnly renounce, for himſelf and his Heirs, the Right of Succeſſion to the Crown of *France*; and limited the Succeſſion to the Crown of *Spain*, after his own Poſterity, to the Houſe of *Savoy*. The like Renunciation was made ſome Months after that, by the Princes of *France* to the Crown of *Spain*: And *Philip* was declared incapable of ſucceeding to the Crown of *France*. It was ſomething ſtrange, to ſee ſo much weight laid on theſe Renunciations, ſince the King of *France* had ſo often, and

ſo

1712. ſo ſolemnly declared (upon his claiming, in the right of his Queen, the *Spaniſh Netherlands*; when the Renunciation made by his Queen before the Marriage, purſuant to the Treaty of the *Pyrenees*, of all Rights of Succeſſion to her Father's Dominions, was objected to him) that no Renunciation, which was but a civil Act, could deſtroy the Rights of Blood, founded on the Laws of Nature: But this was now forgot, or very little conſidered. At this time the Order of the Garter had nine vacant Stalls; ſo ſix Knights were at one time promoted, the Dukes of *Beaufort*, *Hamilton*, and *Kent*; and the Earls of *Oxford*, *Powlet*, and *Straſford*. The Duke of *Hamilton*'s being appointed to go to the Court of *France*, gave melancholy ſpeculations to thoſe, who thought him much in the *Pretender*'s intereſt: He was conſidered, not only in *Scotland*, but here in *England*, as the Head of his Party; but a diſmal Accident put an end to his life, a few days before he intended to have ſet out on his Embaſſy.

Duke of *Hamilton* and Lord *Mohun* both killed in a Combat.

He and the Lord *Mohun* were engaged in ſome Suits of law; and a violent hatred was kindled between them: So that, upon a very high provocation, the Lord *Mohun* ſent him a Challenge, which he tried to decline: but both being hurried, by thoſe falſe Points of Honour, they fatally went out to *Hyde Park*, in the middle of *November*, and fought with ſo violent an animoſity, that neglecting the Rules of Art, they

ſee-

seemed to run on one another, as if they tried who should kill first; in which they were both so unhappily successful, that the Lord *Mohun* was killed outright, and Duke *Hamilton* died in a few minutes after. I will add no Character of him: I am sorry I cannot say so much good of him as I could wish, and I had too much kindness for him, to say any evil without necessity. Nor shall I make any reflections on the deplorable effect of those unchristian and barbarous maxims, which have prevailed so universally, that there is little hope left of seeing them rooted out of the Minds of Men; the false notions of Honour and Courage being too strong, to be weighed down by prudent or religious considerations. 1712.

The Duke of *Shrewsbury* sent to *France*, and the Duke of *Aumont* came to *England*.

The Duke of *Shrewsbury* was, upon Duke *Hamilton's* death, named for the Embassy to *France*, and went over in the end of *December*: The same Yacht, that carried him to *Calais*, brought over the Duke *d' Aumont*, the *French* Ambassador, who was a good-natured and generous Man, of profuse expence, throwing handfulls of Money often out of his Coach, as he went about the streets: He was not thought a Man of business, and seemed to employ himself chiefly, in maintaining the Dignity of his Character, and making himself acceptable to the Nation. I turn next to foreign Affairs.

The War in *Pomerania* went on but slowly, tho'

1712. tho' the *Czar* and the Kings of *Denmark* and *Poland* joined their Forces; upon which it was thought, the intereſt of *Sweden* muſt have ſunk in thoſe parts: But the feebleneſs of one or other of thoſe Princes loſt them great advantages. *Steinbock*, the *Swediſh* General, ſeeing the *Danes* were ſeparated from their Allies, made a quick march toward them; and, tho' the *Saxons* had joined them, before he came up, yet he attacked them. The Action was hot, and laſted ſome hours; but it ended in a compleat Victory on the *Swediſh* ſide. At the ſame time the *Swedes* were animated, by reports from *Conſtantinople*, which gave them hopes of the War, between the *Turks* and the *Czar*, being like to break out again, which the King of *Sweden* continued to ſollicit, and in which he had all the aſſiſtance, that the *French* could give him.

The Affairs in the *North*.

This gave the Emperor great apprehenſions, that diſorders in *Hungary* might follow upon it, which would defeat the meaſures he had taken to ſettle matters in that Kingdom, ſo that being ſafe on that ſide, he might turn his whole force againſt *France*, and by that means, encourage the *States* to continue the War. Thoſe in *Holland*, who preſſed the accepting the offers that *France* made them, repreſented that as a thing not poſſible to be ſupported: The Promiſes of the Emperor and the Princes of the Empire had ſo often failed them, that they ſaid, they could not be relied on. And the diſtractions in

The Emperor prepares for the War with *France*.

in the *North* made them apprehend, that those Princes might be obliged to recall their Troops, which were in the ſervice of the *States*. 1712.

The Earl of *Strafford* was ſent back to the *Hague*, with the *French* Plan, which came to be called the Queen's Plan: But to draw them in the more, he was ordered to enter upon a new *Barrier Treaty* with them, by which the former was to be ſet aſide: By it the *States* were to maintain the Succeſſion to the Crown, when required to it by the Queen, but not otherwiſe. This gave ſtill new occaſions for jealouſy: For whereas, by the former Treaty, they were ſtrictly bound to maintain the Succeſſion, ſo that they were obliged to oppoſe any attempts they ſaw made againſt it: They were by this Treaty obliged to ſtay, 'till they were ſent to: And if our Miniſters ſhould come to entertain ill deſigns that way, they would take care no notice ſhould be given to the *States*. The *Barrier* for the *Dutch* came far ſhort of the former. The *States* wrote another Letter to the Queen, deſiring her to interpoſe, for reſtoring *Strazbourg* to the Empire, for adding *Condé* to their *Barrier*, and for ſettling the Commerce on the foot of the ancient *Tariff*; as alſo for obtaining more reaſonable terms for the Emperor: But things were ſo fixed between the Court of *France* and ours, that there was no room for Interceſſion. *A new Barrier Treaty with the States.*

The Earl of *Godolphin* died of the Stone in *Sep-*

1712. *September*: He was the Man of the cleareſt head, the calmeſt temper, and the moſt incorrupt of all the Miniſters of State, I have ever known. After having been thirty years in the Treaſury, and during nine of thoſe Lord Treaſurer, as he was never once ſuſpected of corruption, or of ſuffering his Servants to grow rich under him, ſo in all that time his Eſtate was not increaſed by him to the value of 4000 *l.* He ſerved the Queen with ſuch a particular affection and zeal, that he ſtudied to poſſeſs all people with great perſonal eſteem for her: And ſhe herſelf ſeemed to be ſo ſenſible of this for many years, that if Courts were not different from all other places in the world, it might have been thought, that his wiſe management at home, and the Duke of *Marlborough*'s glorious conduct abroad, would have fixed them in their Poſts, above the little practices of an artful Favourite, and the cunning of a Man, who has not hitherto ſhewed any token of a great Genius, and is only eminent in the Arts of deluding thoſe that hearken to him.

The Death of the Earl of *Godolphin*.

His Character.

The Duke of *Marlborough* went to live beyond Sea.

Upon the Earl of *Godolphin*'s death, the Duke of *Marlborough* reſolved to go and live beyond Sea; he executed it in the end of *November*; and his Dutcheſs followed him in the beginning of *February*. This was variouſly cenſured; ſome pretended it was the giving up and abandoning the concerns of his Country; and they repreſented it as the effect of Fear, with too an-



SIDNEY GODOLPHIN
EARL OF GODOLPHIN.
Nat. 16... Denat. 1712.

I.V. Schley sculp. dir. 1734.

BRITISH
6 JA 76
MUSEUM

anxious a care to ſecure himſelf: Others were glad he was ſafe out of ill hands; whereby, if we ſhould fall into the Convulſions of a Civil War, he would be able to aſſiſt the Elector of *Hanover*, as being ſo entirely beloved and confided in, by all our military Men; whereas if he had ſtaid in *England*, it was not to be doubted, but, upon the leaſt ſhadow of ſuſpicion, he would have been immediately ſecured; whereas now he would be at liberty, being beyond-ſea, to act as there might be occaſion for it. 1712.

There were two Suits begun againſt him; the one was for the Two and a half *per Cent.* that the foreign Princes were content ſhould be deducted for Contingencies, of which an account was formerly given; the other was, for Arrears due to the Builders of *Blenheim* Houſe. The Queen had given Orders for building it with great magnificence; all the bargains with the Workmen were made in her Name, and by authority from her; and in the Preambles of the Acts of Parliament, that confirmed the Grant of *Woodſtock* to him and his Heirs, it was ſaid the Queen built the Houſe for him: Yet now, that the Tradeſmen were let run into an Arrear of 30000*l.* the Queen refuſed to pay any more; and ſet them upon ſueing the Duke of *Marlborough* for it, tho' he had never contracted with any of them: Upon his going beyond-ſea, both thoſe Suits were ſtaid, which gave occaſion to People to

1712. imagine, that the Miniſtry, being diſturbed to ſee ſo much publick Reſpect put on a Man, whom they had uſed ſo ill, had ſet theſe Proſecutions on foot, only to render his ſtay in *England* uneaſy to him.

We poſſeſs *Dunkirk* in a very precarious manner.

Our Army continued this Winter about *Ghendt* and *Bruges*; and we kept a ſort of Garriſon in *Dunkirk*: But that was ſo ill ſupplied with Artillery and Ammunition, that it was viſible they were not in a condition to keep the Place, any longer than the *French* were willing to let them ſtay in it. And during that time, they were neither allowed to have a place to worſhip God, nor to bury their dead in, though by a Mortality that raged there ſome Thouſands died. Our Miniſters continued ſtill to preſs the *States* and the Emperor to come into the Queen's Meaſures; the Emperor, on ſome occaſions, talked in a very poſitive ſtrain, as if he was reſolved to put all to hazard, rather than ſubmit to ſuch hard conditions; but the apprehenſions of a War in the neighbourhood of *Hungary*, and the low ſtate of his Treaſure, forced him to come down from that heighth, and engage the *States* to procure better Terms for him. The Demand of *Strazbourg* was rejected by the *French*, with ſo poſitive an air, that our Court did not move in it more; nor did it appear, that we obtained any one condition of the *French*, but what was offered in their own Project.

In

In conclusion, the *States* were forced to yield in every particular; and then our Ministers, to give some seeming content to the Nation, and to bring the *States* into some Confidence with them, ordered the new *Barrier Treaty* to be signed: And it was given out by their Creatures, that the *French* were highly offended at their signing this; making it previous to a general Peace, and a sort of Guaranty for it. Thus, after all the Declamations that were made on the first *Barrier Treaty*, the Ministers came into a new one, which tho' not so secure as the former, yet was liable to all the objections, that were made against that. The *French*, as we were assured, in the progress of the Treaty used all that course of *Chicane*, for which they have been so long famous: And, after all the steps our Court had made, to get them a Treaty of their own projecting, we were not at last able to gain any one point upon them; They seemed to reckon that now we had put ourselves in their hands, and that they might use us as they pleased. 1712. The *Barrier Treaty* signed.

A Proclamation was set out in the end of *November*, giving notice that the Session of Parliament would be opened on the thirteenth of *January*: But tho' the proroguing the Parliament, after such a Proclamation, was without a precedent, yet we were put off by seven Prorogations, some for a fortnight, and some for three weeks: It 1713. Seven Prorogations of Parliament.

1713. was ſaid, we were daily expecting a ſud-
den Concluſion of the Treaty; and 'till all was finiſhed, the Miniſters could not know what Aids were to be demanded. What occaſioned all theſe delays, is yet a ſecret to me; ſo I can write nothing of it. Many Expreſſes were ſent to *Vienna*, and the returns to thoſe could not come quick. The Demands for reſtoring the Electors of *Bavaria* and *Cologn*, together with a Compenſation for their loſſes, were inſiſted on. The Emperor could not do the former of theſe, without the Diet, by whoſe Authority they were put under the Imperial *Ban*: But neither the Emperor nor Diet could anſwer the other demand, it roſe ſo high.

Affairs of *Sweden.*

While we were at home uneaſy at the many prorogations and delays, the News from beyond Sea opened a new Scene. The *Swedes* broke into *Holſtein*, but were ſo cloſely followed by the *Danes* and *Muſcovites*, that their Retreat by Land was cut off, and the *Daniſh* Ships ſhut them from the *Baltick* Sea: they made great waſte in the King of *Denmark*'s ſhare of *Holſtein*, and burnt *Altena*, a great and rich Village within a Mile of *Hambourg*, which being an open Place, in no ſort fortified, the burning it was thought contrary to the Laws of War.

The King of *Pruſſia* died in *February*; he was in his own perſon a virtuous Man, and full of Zeal in the matters of Religion; he

The King of *Pruſſia*'s Death,

he raiſed above two hundred new Churches in his Dominions; he was weak, and much in the power of his Miniſters and Flatterers, but was ſo apt to hearken to whiſpers, that he changed twice the whole ſet of his Miniſtry: His aſſuming the Title of a King, and his affecting an extraordinary Magnificence in his Court, brought a great charge on himſelf, and on all about him, which made him a ſevere Maſter to his Subjects, and ſet him on many Pretenſions, chiefly thoſe relating to the Prince of *Frizeland*, which were not thought well grounded. He was ſucceeded in his Dignity by his Son, who had hitherto appeared to affect a roughneſs of behaviour, and ſeemed fond of his Grenadiers, not only beyond all other Military Men, but beyond all Men whatſoever: He ſeemed to have a warlike Inclination; but what he will prove, now that he is on the Throne, muſt be left to time. 1713. And Character.

The appearances of a new War between the *Turk* and the *Czar* varied ſo oft, that it was doubtful in what it might end: The King of *Sweden* uſed all poſſible means to engage the *Turk* into it; but he threw himſelf, by his intractable obſtinacy, into great dangers: The Party at the *Port*, that oppoſed the War, ſtudied to get rid of that King, and of his importunities. Orders were ſent him to march back into his Kingdom: And they undertook to procure him a ſafe paſſage to it; but he treated the Perſon, that was The King of *Sweden*'s Misfortunes.

1713. sent with this Message, with great insolence, and fortified himself, as well as he could, with the *Swedes* that were about him, and resolved to defend himself. A Force much superiour to his, was brought against him; but he maintained himself so resolutely in his House, that some hundreds of those who attacked him were killed: The *Turks* upon that set fire to the House, whereupon he was forced to surrender, and was put under a Guard; and most of his *Swedes* were sold for Slaves: He was carried to a House near *Adrianople*, but not suffered to come to Court; only the *Sultan* disowned the violence used to his Person. In the mean while, the *Czar* shipped an Army from *Petersburgh*, that landed in *Finland*: The *Swedes* were not able to stand before him; every Place, as he advanced, submitted to him; and he was now Master of *Abo*, the Capital of *Finland*, and of that whole Province. *Steinbock* with his Army, maintained himself in *Tonningen*, as long as their provision lasted: But, all Supplies being carefully stopp'd, he was forced at last to deliver up himself and his Army Prisoners of War; and these were the best Troops the *Swedes* had, so that *Sweden* was struck with a general consternation: In this distracted state has that furious Prince abandoned his own Kingdom. And there I must leave it, to return to our own affairs.

The Treaties signed, and the Session

After a long expectation we at last knew, that on the thirteenth of *March* the Treaty of Peace between *England*, *France*, and the *States*

States was ſigned: Upon this, the Parliament was opened on the ninth of *April*. The Queen in her Speech told the two Houſes, that ſhe had now concluded a Peace, and had obtained a further Security for the Proteſtant Succeſſion, and that ſhe was in an entire union with the Houſe of *Hanover*; ſhe asked of the Commons, the neceſſary Supplies, and recommended to both Houſes, the cultivating the Arts of Peace, with a reflection upon Faction. Upon this Speech a Debate aroſe in the Houſe of Lords, concerning ſome words, that were moved to be put in the Addreſs, (which of courſe was to be made to the Queen) applauding the Conditions of the Peace, and the Security for the Proteſtant Succeſſion: This was oppoſed, ſince we did not yet know what the Conditions of the Peace were, nor what that Security was; all that appeared was, that the *Pretender* was gone out of *France* into the *Barrois*, a Part of *Lorrain*, for which that Duke did homage to the Crown of *France*. An Addreſs of Congratulation was agreed to, but without any Approbation of the Peace. The Houſe of Commons obſerved the ſame caution in their Addreſs. But upon this, a new ſet of Addreſſes ran thro' the Nation, in the uſual ſtrains of Flattery and falſe Eloquence. The Parliament ſate above a Month, before the Articles of Peace (and of a Treaty of Commerce, made at that ſame time) were laid before them. It was given out, that, 'till the

1713. of Parliament opened.

1713. Ratifications were exchanged, it was not proper to publiſh them; but when that was done, they were communicated to both Houſes, and printed.

The Subſtance of The Treaties of Peace and Commerce.

By the Treaty of Peace, the *French* King was bound to give neither harbour nor aſſiſtance to the *Pretender*, but acknowledged the Queen's Title and the Proteſtant Succeſſion, as it was ſettled by ſeveral Acts of Parliament: *Dunkirk* was to be razed in a time limited, within five Months, after the Ratifications; but that was not to be begun, 'till an Equivalent for it was put in the hands of *France*. *Newfoundland*, *Hudſon's Bay* and *St. Chriſtopher's* were to be given to *England*; but *Cape Breton* was left to the *French*, with a liberty to dry their Fiſh on *Newfoundland*: This was the main ſubſtance of the Articles of Peace. The Treaty of Commerce ſettled a free Trade, according to the *Tariff* in the year 1664, excepting ſome Commodities, that were ſubjected to a new *Tariff* in the year 1699, which was ſo high, that it amounted to a Prohibition: All the Productions of *France* were to come into *England* under no other Duties, but thoſe that were laid on the ſame Productions from other Countries; and when this was ſettled, then Commiſſaries were to be ſent to *London*, to agree and adjuſt all matters relating to Trade. The Treaty of Commerce with *Spain* was not yet finiſhed. As for the Allies, *Portugal* and *Savoy* were ſatisfied; the Emperor was to have the Dutchy of *Milan*, the Kingdom

of

of *Naples*, and the *Spaniſh Netherlands*: *Sicily* was to be given to the Duke of *Savoy*, with the Title of King: And *Sardinia*, with the ſame Title, was to be given to the Elector of *Bavaria*, in lieu of his loſſes: The *States* were to deliver up *Liſle*, and the little Places about it: And, beſides the Places of which they were already poſſeſſed, they were to have *Namur*, *Charleroy*, *Luxembourg*, *Ypres*, and *Newport*: The King of *Pruſſia* was to have the *Upper Guelder*, in lieu of *Orange*, and the other Eſtates, which the Family had in *Franche Comté*. This was all that I think neceſſary to inſert here, with relation to our Treaty: The Emperor was to have time to the firſt of *June*, to declare his accepting of it. It did not appear what Equivalent the King of *France* was to have for *Dunkirk*: No mention was made of it in the Treaty; ſo the Houſe of Commons made an Addreſs to the Queen, deſiring to know what that Equivalent was. Some weeks paſſed before they had an Anſwer; at laſt the Queen by a Meſſage ſaid, the *French* King had that Equivalent already in his own hands; but we were ſtill in the dark as to that, no further Explanation being made of it. As to *Newfoundland*, it was thought that the *French* ſettling at *Cape Breton*, inſtead of *Placentia*, would be of great advantage to them with relation to the Fiſhery, which is the only thing, that makes Settlements in thoſe parts of any value. The *Engliſh* have al- 1713.

1713. ways pretended that, the first discovery of *Newfoundland* being made in *Henry* the Seventh's time, the Right to it was in the Crown of *England*. The *French* had leave given them in King *Charles* the First's time to fish there, paying Tribute, as an Acknowledgment of that Licence: It is true, they carried this much further, during the Civil Wars; and this grew to a much greater heighth in the Reign of King *Charles* the Second: But in King *William*'s time, an Act of Parliament passed, asserting the Right of the Crown to *Newfoundland*, laying open the Trade thither to all the Subjects of *Great Britain*, with a positive and constant exclusion of all Aliens and Foreigners. These were the Reflections made on the Treaty of Peace; but there were more important objections made to the Treaty of Commerce. During K. *Charles* the Second's Reign, our Trade with *France* was often and loudly complained of, as very prejudicial to the Nation; there was a Commission appointed in the Year 1674, to adjust the conditions of our Commerce with that Nation, and then it appeared, in a Scheme that was prepared by very able Merchants, that we lost every year a Million of Money by our Trade thither. This was then so well received, that the Scheme was entred into the Journals of both Houses of Parliament, and into the Books of the Custom-House: But the Court at that time favoured the interests of *France*

so

ſo much, preferably to their own, that the Trade went ſtill on 'till the Year 1678, when the Parliament laid, upon all *French* Commodities, ſuch a Duty as amounted to a Prohibition, and was to laſt for three years, and to the end of the next Seſſion of Parliament: At the end of the three years, King *Charles* called no more Parliaments; and that Act was repealed in King *James*'s Parliament: But, during the whole laſt War, high Duties were laid on all the Productions and Manufactures of *France*; which by this Treaty were to be no higher charged, than the ſame Productions from other Countries. It was ſaid that, if we had been as often beat by the *French*, as they had been by us, this would have been thought a very hard Treaty; and if the Articles of our Commerce had been ſettled, before the Duke of *Ormond* was ordered to ſeparate his Troops from the Confederates, the *French* could not have pretended to draw us into ſuch terms, as they had inſiſted on ſince that time, becauſe we put ourſelves into their power. We were engaged by our Treaty with *Portugal*, that their Wines ſhould be charged a third part lower than the *French* Wines; but if the Duties were, according to this Treaty of Commerce, to be made equal, then conſidering the difference of Freight, which is more than double from *Portugal*, the *French* Wines would be much cheaper; and the Nation generally liking them 1713.

1713. them better, by this means we ſhould not only break our Treaties with *Portugal*, but if we did not take off their Wines, we muſt loſe their Trade, which was at preſent the moſt advantageous, that we drove any where: For beſides a great vent of our Manufactures, we brought over yearly great Returns of Gold from thence; four, five and ſix hundred thouſand Pounds a-year. We had brought the Silk Manufacture here to ſo great perfection, that about 300000 People were maintained by it. For carrying this on, we brought great quantities of Silk from *Italy* and *Turky*, by which People in thoſe Countries came to take off as great quantities of our Manufactures: So that our demand for Silk had opened good Markets for our Woollen Goods abroad, which muſt fail, if our Manufacture of Silk at home ſhould be loſt: Which, if once we gave a free vent for ſilk ſtuffs from *France* among us, muſt ſoon be the caſe; ſince the cheapneſs of proviſions and of labour in *France*, would enable the *French* to underſell us, even at our own Markets. Our Linnen and Paper Manufactures would likewiſe be ruined by a free importation of the ſame Goods from *France*. Theſe things came to be ſo generally well underſtood; that even, while flattering Addreſſes were coming to Court from all the parts of the Iſland, Petitions came from the Towns and Counties concerned in Trade, ſetting forth the prejudice

dice they apprehended from this Treaty of Commerce. The Miniſters uſed all poſſible arts to bear this Clamour down; they called it Faction, and decried it with a boldneſs, that would have ſurprized any, but thoſe who had obſerved the methods, they had taken for many years, to vent the fouleſt Calumnies, and the falſeſt miſrepreſentations poſſible. But the matter came to be ſo univerſally apprehended, that it could not be diſguiſed. 1713.

Aid given by the Commons.

The Houſe of Commons gave an Aid of Two Shillings in the Pound, tho the Miniſters hoped to have carried it higher; but the Members durſt not venture on that, ſince a new Election was ſoon to follow the Concluſion of the Seſſion: They went next to renew the Duty on Malt, for another year; and here a Debate aroſe, that was kept up ſome days in both Houſes of Parliament, whether it ſhould be laid on the whole Iſland: It was carried in the affirmative, of which the *Scots* complained heavily, as a burden that their Country could not bear; And whereas it was ſaid, that thoſe Duties ought to be laid equally on all the Subjects of the United Kingdoms, the *Scots* inſiſted on an Article of the Union, by which it was ſtipulated, that no Duty ſhould be laid on the Malt in *Scotland* during the War, which ought to be obſerved religiouſly. They ſaid, it was evident, the War with *Spain* was not yet ended; no Peace with that Crown was yet pro-

The *Scots* oppoſe their being charged with the Duty on Malt.

1713. proclaimed, nor ſo much as ſigned: And, tho' it was as good as made, and was every day expected, yet it was a Maxim in the Conſtruction of all Laws, that odious matters ought to be ſtrictly underſtood, whereas matters of Favour were to be more liberally interpreted. It was farther ſaid on the *Scotch* ſide, that this Duty was, by the very words of the Act, to be applied to deficiencies during the War: So this Act was, upon the matter, making *Scotland* pay that Duty during the War, from which the Articles of the Union did by expreſs words exempt them. A great number of the *Engliſh* were convinced of the equity of theſe grounds, that the *Scots* went on; but the majority was on the other ſide. So, when the Bill had paſſed thro' the Houſe of Commons, all the *Scots* of both Houſes met together, and agreed to move for an Act, diſſolving the Union; they went firſt to the Queen, and told her how grievous and indeed intolerable this Duty would be to their Country, ſo that they were under a neceſſity to try, how the Union might be broken. The Queen ſeemed uneaſy at the Motion; ſhe ſtudied to divert them from it, and aſſured them that her Officers ſhould have orders to make it eaſy to them. This was underſtood to imply that the Duty ſhould not be levied; but they knew this could not be depended on: So the Motion was made in the Houſe of Lords, and moſt of the Lords of that Nation ſpoke to it: They

And moved to have the Union diſſolved.

ſet

ſet forth all the Hardſhips, that they lay under ſince the Union; they had no more a Council in *Scotland*; their Peers at preſent were the only Perſons in the whole Iſland, that were judged incapable of Peerage by deſcent; their Laws were altered in matters of the higheſt importance, particularly in matters of Treaſon; and now an Impoſition was to be laid on their Malt, which muſt prove an intolerable Burden to the Poor of that Country, and force them to drink water. Upon all theſe reaſons they moved for liberty to bring in a Bill, to diſſolve the Union, in which they would give full ſecurity, for maintaining the Queen's Prerogative, and for ſecuring the Proteſtant Succeſſion. This was oppoſed with much zeal by the Miniſters, but was ſupported by others; who, tho' they did not intend to give up the Union, yet thought it reaſonable to give a hearing to this Motion, that they might ſee how far the Proteſtant Succeſſion could be ſecured, in caſe it ſhould be entertained; but the majority were for rejecting the motion. When the Malt-Bill was brought up to the Lords, there was ſuch an oppoſition made to it, that fifty-ſix voted againſt it, but ſixty-four were for it, and ſo it paſſed. 1713.

A Bill for rendring the Treaty of Commerce with *France* effectual.

The matter of the greateſt conſequence in this Seſſion was, a Bill for ſettling the Commerce with *France*, according to the Treaty, and for taking off the Prohibitions

1713. tions and high Duties, that were laid on the Productions of *France*. The Traders in the City of *London*, and those in all the other parts of *England* were alarmed, with the great prejudice this would bring on the whole Nation. The *Turkey* Company, those that traded to *Portugal* and *Italy*, and all who were concerned in the Woollen and Silk Manufactures, appeared before both Houses, and set forth the great mischief, that a Commerce with *France*, on the foot of the Treaty, would bring upon the Nation; while none appeared on the other side, to answer their arguments, or to set forth the advantage of such a Commerce. It was manifest, that none of the trading Bodies had been consulted in it; and the Commissioners for Trade and Plantations had made very material observations on the first Project, which was sent to them for their opinion: And afterwards, when this present Project was formed, it was also transmitted to that Board by the Queen's order, and they were required to make their remarks on it; but *Arthur Moor*, who had risen up from being a Footman without any education, to be a great dealer in Trade, and was the Person of that Board, in whom the Lord Treasurer confided most, moved that they might first read it every one a-part, and then debate it; and he desired to have the first perusal: So he took it away, and never brought it back to them, but gave it to the Lord *Bolingbroke*, who

who carried it to *Paris*, and there it was settled. The Bill was very feebly maintained by thoſe who argued for it; yet the Majority went with the Bill 'till the laſt day; and then the oppoſition to it was ſo ſtrong, that the Miniſters ſeemed inclined to let it fall: But it was not then known, whether this was only a Feint, or whether the inſtances of the *French* Ambaſſador, and the Engagements, that our Miniſters were under to that Court, prevailed for carrying it on, it was brought to the laſt ſtep; and then a great many of thoſe, who had hitherto gone along with the Court, broke from them in this matter, and beſtirred themſelves ſo effectually, that when it came to the laſt diviſion, 185 were for the Bill, and 194 were againſt it: By ſo ſmall a majority was a Bill of ſuch great importance loſt. But the Houſe of Commons, to ſoften the ill conſtructions that might be made of their rejecting this Bill, made an Addreſs to the Queen, in which they thanked her for the Peace ſhe had concluded, and for the foundation laid for ſettling our Commerce; and prayed her to name Commiſſaries to regulate and finiſh that matter. 1713.

To this the Queen ſent an Anſwer, of a ſingular compoſition: She ſaid, ſhe was glad to ſee they were ſo well pleaſed with the Treaty of Peace and Commerce, that ſhe had made, and aſſured them that ſhe would uſe her beſt endeavours to ſee all the advantages, that ſhe had ſtipulated for her

1713. Subjects, performed: This was ſurprizing, ſince the Houſe of Commons had ſufficiently ſhewed, how little they were pleaſed with the Treaty of Commerce, by their rejecting the Bill, that was offered to confirm it; and this was inſinuated in their Addreſs itſelf: But it was pleaſantly ſaid, that the Queen anſwered them, according to what ought to have been in their Addreſs, and not according to what was in it; beſides it was obſervable, that her Promiſe, to maintain what was already ſtipulated, did not at all anſwer the Prayer of their Addreſs. This was all that paſſed in this Seſſion of Parliament with relation to the Peace. It was once apprehended, that the Miniſters would have moved for an Act, or at leaſt for an Addreſs, approving the Peace; and upon that I prepared a Speech, which I intended to make on the ſubject: It was the only Speech, that I ever prepared beforehand; but ſince that matter was never brought into the Houſe, I had no occaſion to make it; yet I think proper to inſert it here, that I may deliver down my thoughts of this great Tranſaction to Poſterity.

A Speech I prepared when the Approbation of the Peace ſhould be moved in the Houſe of Lords.

„ MY LORDS, this Matter now be-
„ fore you, as it is of the greateſt
„ importance, ſo it may be ſeen in very diffe-
„ rent lights. I will not meddle with the
„ Political view of it; I leave that to Per-
„ ſons, who can judge and ſpeak of it much
„ better than I can: I will only offer to

„ you

„ you what appears to me, when I consi- 1713.
„ der it, with relation to the Rules of
„ Morality and Religion; in this I am sure
„ I act within my proper sphere. Some
„ things stick so with me, that I could have
„ no quiet in my Conscience, nor think
„ I had answered the duty of my Function,
„ if I did not make use of the freedom
„ of speech, that our Constitution and the
„ Privileges of this House allow me: I am
„ the more encouraged to do this, because
„ the bringing those of our Order into
„ publick Councils, in which we have
„ now such a share, was originally inten-
„ ded for this very end, that we should
„ offer such considerations, as arise from
„ the Rules of our Holy Religion, in all
„ matters that may come before us. In
„ the opening my sense of things, I may
„ be forced to use some words, that may
„ perhaps appear severe: I cannot help it,
„ if the nature of these Affairs is such,
„ that I cannot speak plainly of them, in
„ a softer strain: I intend not to reflect
„ on any Person: And I am sure I have
„ such a profound respect for the Queen,
„ that no part of what I may say, can be
„ understood to reflect on her in any sort:
„ Her Intentions are, no doubt, as she
„ declares them to be, all for the good
„ and happiness of her People; but it is
„ not to be supposed, that she can read
„ long Treaties, or carry the Articles of
„ them in her Memory: So if things have

1713. „ been either concealed from her, or mis-
„ repreſented to her, *She can do no wrong:*
„ And if any ſuch thing has been done,
„ we know on whom our Conſtitution lays
„ the blame.

„ The Treaties that were made ſome
„ years ago with our Allies are in print;
„ both the Grand Alliance, and ſome ſubſe-
„ quent ones: We ſee many things in
„ theſe, that are not provided for by this
„ Peace: It was in particular ſtipulated,
„ that no Peace ſhould de treated, much
„ leſs concluded, without the conſent of
„ the Allies. But, before I make any ob-
„ ſervations on this, I muſt deſire you
„ will conſider how ſacred a thing the pu-
„ blick Faith, that is engaged in Treaties
„ and Alliances, ſhould be eſteemed.

„ I hope, I need not tell you, that even
„ Heathen Nations, valued themſelves upon
„ their Fidelity, in a punctual obſerving of
„ all their Treaties, and with how much
„ Infamy they branded the Violation of
„ them: If we conſider that, which Revealed
„ Religion teaches us to know, that Man
„ was made after the Image of God, the
„ God of all Truth, as we know who is
„ the Father of Lyes; *God hates the deceitful*
„ *Man, in whoſe Mouth there is no Faithful-*
„ *neſs.* In that leſs perfect Religion of
„ the *Jews*, when the *Gibeonites* had, by
„ a fraudulent proceeding, drawn *Joſhua*
„ and the *Iſraelites* into a League with
„ them, it was ſacredly obſerved; and

„ the

„ the Violation of it, ſome Ages af- 1713.
„ ter, was ſeverely puniſhed. And, when
„ the laſt of the Kings of *Judah* ſhook off
„ the Fidelity, to which he had bound him-
„ ſelf to the King of *Babylon*, the Prophet
„ thereupon ſaid with indignation, *Shall he*
„ *break the Oath of God, and proſper?* The
„ Swearing deceitfully is one of the worſt
„ Characters; and *He who ſwears to his own*
„ *hurt, and changes not*, is among the beſt.
„ It is a Maxim of the wiſeſt of Kings, that
„ *the Throne is eſtabliſhed by Righteouſneſs.*
„ Treaties are of the nature of Oaths; and
„ when an Oath is asked to confirm a Trea-
„ ty, it is never denied. The beſt account
„ that I can give of the diſuſe of adding
„ that Sacred Seal to Treaties is this.

„ The Popes had for ſome Ages poſſes-
„ ſed themſelves of a Power, to which
„ they had often recourſe, of diſſolving
„ the Faith of Treaties, and the Obliga-
„ tion of Oaths: The famous, but fatal
„ Story of *Ladiſlaus*, King of *Hungary*,
„ breaking his Faith to *Amurath* the *Turk*,
„ by virtue of a Papal Diſpenſation, is
„ well known. One of the laſt publick Acts
„ of this ſort was, when Pope *Clement* the
„ Seventh abſolved *Francis* the Firſt, from
„ the Treaty made and ſworn to at *Ma-*
„ *drid*, while, he was a Priſoner there:
„ The ſevere revenge that *Charles* the
„ Fifth took of this, in the Sack of *Rome*,
„ and in keeping that Pope for ſome
„ Months a Priſoner, has made Popes

1713. „ more cautious, ſince that time, than they
„ were formerly: This alſo drew ſuch hea-
„ vy but juſt reproaches, on the Papacy,
„ from the Reformers, that ſome ſtop
„ ſeems now to be put to ſuch a barefaced
„ protection of Perjury. But the late King
„ told me, that he underſtood from the
„ *German* Proteſtant Princes, that they
„ believed the Confeſſors of Popiſh Princes
„ had Faculties from *Rome*, for doing this
„ as effectually, tho' more ſecretly: He
„ added, that they knew it went for a
„ Maxim among Popiſh Princes, that their
„ Word and Faith bound them as they
„ were Men, and Members of Society;
„ but that their Oaths, being Acts of Re-
„ ligion, were ſubject to the direction of
„ their Confeſſors; and that they, appre-
„ hending this, did, in all their Treaties
„ with the Princes of that Religion, de-
„ pend upon their Honour, but never as-
„ ked the Confirmation of an Oath, which
„ had been the practice of former Ages.
„ The Proteſtants of *France* thought they
„ had gained an additional ſecurity, for
„ obſerving the Edict of *Nantes*, when the
„ ſwearing to obſerve it was made a part
„ of the Coronation Oath: But it is pro-
„ bable, this very thing undermined and
„ ruined it.

„ *Grotius*, *Puffendorf*, and others who
„ have wrote of the Law of Nations, lay
„ this down for a rule, that the nature of
„ a Treaty, and the tie that ariſes out of it,

„ is

„ is not altered by the having or not ha- 1713.
„ ving an Oath; the Oath ſerves only to
„ heighten the obligation. They do alſo *Pernicies, Summus Conatus.*
„ agree in this, that Confederacies do not
„ bind States, to carry on a War to their
„ *Utter Ruin*; but that Princes and States
„ are bound to uſe their *Utmoſt Efforts*, in
„ maintaining them: And it is agreed by
„ all, who have treated of theſe matters,
„ that the common Enemy, by offering to
„ any one Confederate all his Pretenſions,
„ cannot juſtify *his* departing from the
„ Confederacy; becauſe it was entered
„ into with that view, that all the Pre-
„ tenſions, upon which the Confederacy
„ was made, ſhould be inſiſted on or de-
„ parted from, by common conſent.

„ It is true, that in Confederacies, where
„ Allies are bound to the performance of
„ ſeveral Articles, as to their *Quota's* or
„ Shares, if any one fails in the part he
„ was bound to, the other Confederates
„ have a right to demand a reparation for
„ his non-performance: But even in that
„ caſe, Allies are to act as Friends, by ma-
„ king allowances for what could not be
„ helped, and not as Enemies by taking
„ advantages, on deſign to diſengage them
„ from their Allies. It is certain, Allies
„ forfeit their right to the Alliance, if they
„ do not perform their part: But the fai-
„ lure muſt be evident, and an expoſtu-
„ lation muſt be firſt made: And, if upon
„ ſatisfaction demanded, it is not given,

1713. „ then a Proteſtation ſhould be made, of
„ ſuch non-performance; and the reſt of
„ the Confederates are at liberty, as to
„ him who fails on his part. Theſe are
„ reckoned among the Cuſtoms and Laws
„ of Nations: And ſince nothing of this
kind has been done, I cannot ſee how
„ it can be made out, that the Tie of the
„ Confederacy, and by conſequence, that
„ the Publick Faith has not been firſt bro-
„ ken on our ſide.

„ My Lords, I cannot reconcile the car-
„ rying on a Treaty with the *French*,
„ without the knowledge and concurrence
„ of the other Confederate States and
„ Princes, and the concluding it, without
„ the conſent of the Emperor, the prin-
„ cipal Confederate, not to mention the
„ viſible uneaſineſs that has appeared in
„ the others, who ſeem to have been for-
„ ced to conſent, by Declarations, if not
„ by Threatnings, from hence; I ſay, I
„ cannot reconcile this, with the Articles
„ of the Grand Alliance, and the other
„ later Treaties, that are in Print: This
„ ſeems to come within the Charge of the
„ Prophet againſt thoſe *who deal treache-*
„ *rouſly, with thoſe who had not dealt treache-*
„ *rouſly with them*; upon which, the Threa-
„ tening that follows may be juſtly appre-
„ hended. It will have a ſtrange ſound
„ among all Chriſtians, but more particularly
„ among the Reformed, when it is reported,
„ that the Plenipotentiary of the Head of the

„ Re-

„ Reformed Princes, ſaid openly to the other 1713.
„ Plenipotentiaries, that the Queen held
„ herſelf free from all her Treaties and
„ Alliances. If this be ſet for a precedent,
„ here is a ſhort way of diſpenſing with the
„ Fublick Faith; and if this was ſpoken
„ by one of our Prelates, I am afraid it
„ will leave a heavy reproach on our Church;
„ and, to ſpeak freely, I am afraid it will
„ draw a much heavier Curſe after it. My
„ Lords, there is a God in Heaven, who will
„ judge all the World, without reſpect of
„ Perſons: Nothing can proſper without his
„ bleſſing: He can blaſt all the Counſels of
„ Men, when laid in fraud and deceit, how
„ cunningly ſoever they may be either
„ contrived or diſguiſed: And I muſt think
„ that a Peace made, in oppoſition to the
„ expreſs words of ſo many Treaties, will
„ prove a Curſe inſtead of a Bleſſing to us.
„ God is provoked by ſuch proceedings, to
„ pour heavy Judgments on us; for the
„ Violation of a Faith ſo often given, which
„ is ſo openly broken: By this our Nation
„ is diſhonoured, and our Church diſgra-
„ ced: And I dread to think, what the con-
„ ſequence of thoſe things is like to prove.
„ I would not have expreſſed myſelf in
„ ſuch a manner, if I had not thought, that
„ I was bound to it by the Duty that I
„ owe to Almighty God, by my Zeal for
„ the Queen, and the Church, and by my
„ Love to my Country. Upon ſo great an
„ occaſion, I think my Poſt in the Church and

1713. „ in this Houſe lays me under the ſtricteſt
„ obligations to diſcharge my Conſcience,
„ and to ſpeak plainly without Fear or
„ Flattery, let the effect of it, as to my-
„ ſelf, be what it will: I ſhall have
„ the more quiet in my own mind, both
„ living and dying, for having done
„ that, which ſeemed to me an indiſpen-
„ ſable Duty.

„ I hope this Houſe will not bring upon
„ themſelves and the Nation, the blame
„ and guilt of approving that, which ſeems
„ to be much more juſtly cenſurable: The
„ Reproach that may belong to this Treaty,
„ and the Judgments of God, that may
„ follow on it are now what a few only
„ are concerned in. A National Approba-
„ tion is a thing of another nature. The pub-
„ lick Breach of Faith, in the Attack that
„ was made on the *Smyrna* Fleet, forty
„ years ago, brought a great load of Infamy
„ on thoſe, who adviſed and directed it;
„ but they were more modeſt than to ask a
„ publick Approbation of ſo opprobrious a
„ Fact: It lay on a few; and the Nation
„ was not drawn in to a ſhare in the
„ guilt of that, which was then univer-
„ ſally deteſted, tho' it was paſſed over
„ in ſilence: It ſeems enough, if not
„ too much, to be ſilent on ſuch an occa-
„ ſion. I can carry my compliances no fur-
„ ther. „

I now go on with the Account of what was far-

farther done in this Seſſion. The Houſe of Commons was, as to all other things except the matter of Commerce, ſo entirely in the hands of the Miniſters, that they ventured on a new demand, of a very extraordinary nature, which was made in as extraordinary a manner. The Civil Liſt, which was eſtimated at 600,000 *l.* a-year, and was given for the ordinary ſupport of the Government, did far exceed it: And this was ſo evident that, during the three firſt years of the Queen's Reign, 100,000 *l.* was every year applied to the War; 200,000 *l.* was laid out in building of *Blenheim* Houſe, and the entertaining the *Palatines* had coſt the Queen 100,000 *l.* So that here was apparently a large overplus, beyond what was neceſſary towards the ſupport of the Government. Yet theſe extraordinary expences had put the ordinary Payments into ſuch an arrear; that at *Midſummer* 1710, the Queen owed 510,000 *l.* But upon a new account, this was brought to be 80,000 *l.* leſs; and at that time, there was an Arrear of 190,000 *l.* due to the Civil Liſt; theſe two Sums together amounting to 270,000 *l.* the debt that remained was but 240,000 *l.* Yet now, in the end of the Seſſion, when, upon the rejecting the Bill of Commerce, moſt of the Members were gone into the Country, ſo that there were not 180 of them left, a Meſſage was ſent to the Houſe of Commons, deſiring a power to mortgage a Branch of the Civil Liſt, for thirty-

1713.

A Demand of Money for the Civil Liſt Debts.

two

1713. two Years, in order to raiſe upon it 500,000 *l.*

Reaſons againſt it. This was thought a Demand of very bad conſequence, ſince the granting it to one Prince would be a precedent to grant the like to all future Princes; and, as the Account of the Debt was deceitfully ſtated, ſo it was known, that the Funds ſet off for the Civil Liſt would increaſe conſiderably in times of Peace: So an oppoſition was made to it, with a great ſuperiority in point of argument, but there was a great Majority for it: And all People concluded, that the true end of getting ſo much Money into the hands of the Court, was to furniſh their Creatures ſufficiently, for carrying their Elections.

But it was granted. The Lords were ſenſible, that the method of procuring this Supply was contrary to their Privileges, ſince all publick Supplies were either asked from the Throne, or by a Meſſage which was ſent to both Houſes at the ſame time: This Practice was enquired into by the Lords; no Precedents came up to it; but ſome came ſo near it, that nothing could be made of the objection. But the Miniſters, apprehending that an oppoſition would be made to the Bill, if it came up alone, got it conſolidated with another of 1,200,000 *l.* that was before them. And the weight of theſe two joined together, made them both paſs in the Houſe of Lords, without oppoſition.

While

While this was in agitation, the Earl of *Wharton* ſet forth, in the Houſe of Lords, the danger the Nation was in by the *Pretender*'s being ſettled in *Lorrain*; ſo he moved, that an Addreſs ſhould be made to the Queen, deſiring her, to uſe her moſt preſſing Inſtances, with the Duke of *Lorrain* to remove him, and with all Princes, that were in Amity or Correſpondence with her, not to receive the *Pretender*, nor to ſuffer him to continue in their Dominions. This was oppoſed by none, but the the Lord *North*; ſo it was carried to the Queen. The day after the Lords had voted this, *Stanhope* made a motion to the ſame purpoſe in the Houſe of Commons, and it was agreed to, *Nemine Contradicente*. The Queen, in her Anſwer to the Addreſs of the Lords, ſaid, ſhe would repeat the inſtances, ſhe had already uſed, to get that Perſon removed, according to their deſire in the Addreſs: This ſeemed to import, that ſhe had already preſſed the Duke of *Lorrain* on that ſubject, tho' the Miniſters, in the Houſe of Lords, acknowledged that they knew of no applications made to the Duke of *Lorrain*, and thought the words of the Anſwer related only to the inſtances ſhe had uſed, to get the *Pretender* to be ſent out of *France*: But the Natural ſignification of the Words, ſeeming to relate to the Duke of *Lorrain*, the Lords made a ſecond Addreſs, in which they ſaid, they were ſurprized to find, that thoſe inſtances had

1713.

Addreſs of both Houſes to het the *Pretender* removed from *Lorrain*.

1713. had not their full effect, notwithſtanding the Kings of *France* and *Spain* had ſhewed their compliance with her deſire, on that occaſion. All the Anſwer brought to this was, that the Queen received it graciouſly. She anſwered the Commons more plainly, and promiſed to uſe her endeavours to get him removed. It was generally believed, that the Duke of *Lorrain* did not conſent to receive him, till he ſent one over, to known the Queen's pleaſure upon it, and that he was very readily informed of that.

The Death of ſome Biſhops.

In the end of *May*, *Spratt*, Biſhop of *Rocheſter*, died; his parts were very bright in his Youth, and gave great hopes; but theſe were blaſted by a lazy libertine courſe of Life, to which his temper and good-Nature carried him without conſidering the Duties or even the Decencies of his Profeſſion: He was juſtly eſteemed a great Maſter of our Language, and one of our correcteſt Writers. *Atterbury* ſucceeded him in that See, and in the Deanry of *Weſtminſter*: Thus was he promoted, and rewarded for all the flame, that he had raiſed in our Church. *Compton*, Biſhop of *London*, died in the beginning of *July*, in the eighty-firſt year of his age: He was a generous and good-natured Man, but eaſy and weak, and much in the power of others: He was ſucceeded by *Robinſon*, Biſhop of *Briſtol*. On the eighteenth of *July*, the Queen came to the Houſe of Lords,

Lords, to paſs the Bills, and to put an end to the Seſſion: She made a Speech to her Parliament, in which, after ſhe had thanked them for the ſervice they had done the Publick, and for the Supplies that the Commons had given; ſhe ſaid ſhe hoped the Affair of Commerce would be ſo well underſtood at their next meeting, that the advantageous conditions, ſhe had obtained from *France*, would be made effectual, for the benefit of our Trade: She enlarged on the praiſes of the preſent Parliament; ſhe ſaid, at their firſt meeting they had eaſed the Subjects of more than Nine Millions, without any further charge on them, not to mention the advantage, which the way of doing it, might bring to the Nation; and now they had enabled her likewiſe to pay her Debts: They had ſupported the War, and ſtrengthened her hands, in obtaining a Peace. She told them, at her firſt coming to the Crown, ſhe found a War prepared for her: And that ſhe had now made her many Victories uſeful, by a ſafe and honourable Peace. She promiſed herſelf, that with their concurrence, it would be laſting: She deſired they would make her Subjects ſenſible, what they gained by the Peace, and endeavour to diſſipate all the groundleſs jealouſies, which had been too induſtrioſly fomented; that ſo our diviſions might not endanger the advantages ſhe had obtained for her Kingdoms. There were ſome (very few 1713. The Queen's Speech.

1713. few ſhe hoped) that would never be ſatisfied with any Government; ſhe hoped they would exert themſelves, to obviate the malice of the ill-minded, and to undeceive the deluded. She recommended to them the adhering to the Conſtitution in Church and State; ſuch Perſons had the beſt title to her favour; ſhe had no other aim, but their advantage, and the ſecuring our Religion, and Liberty. She hoped to meet a Parliament next Winter, that ſhould act upon the ſame Principles, and with the ſame Prudence and Vigour, to ſupport the Liberties of *Europe* abroad, and to reduce the Spirit of Faction at home. Few Speeches from the throne have in my time been more ſeverely reflected on, than this was: It ſeemed ſtrange that the Queen, who did not pretend to underſtand matters of Trade, ſhould paſs ſuch a cenſure on both Houſes, for their not underſtanding the Affair of Commerce; ſince at the Bar of both Houſes and in the debates within them upon it, the Intereſt of the Nation did appear ſo viſibly to be contrary to the Treaty of Commerce, that it lookcd like a contempt put on them, to repreſent it as advantageous to us, and to rank all thoſe, who had oppoſed it, among the ill-minded, or at leaſt among the deluded. Nor did it eſcape cenſure, that ſhe ſhould affirm, that the Nation was by them eaſed of the load of Nine Millions, without any further charge; ſince the Nation

muſt

must bear the constant charge of interest at Six *per Cent*, till the Capital should be paid off. *The sharpness* with which she expressed herself was singular, and not very well suited to her Dignity or her Sex: Nor was it well understood, what could be meant by her saying, that she found a War prepared for her, at her coming to the Crown; since she herself began it, upon the Addresses of both Houses. It was also observed, that there was not, in all her Speech, one word of the *Pretender*, or of the Protestant Succession; but that, which made the greatest impression on the whole Nation was, that this Speech discovered plainly, that the Court was resolved to have the Bill of Commerce pass in the next Session. All People concluded, the Ministers were under engagements to the Court of *France* to get it settled: And this was taken to be the sense of the Queen's words concerning the making the Peace lasting: What effect this may have on the next Elections, which are quickly to follow, must be left to time. 1713.

I am now come to the end of the War, and of this Parliament, both at once: It was fit they should bear some proportion to one another; for, as this was the worst Parliament I ever saw, so no Assembly, but one composed as this was, could have sate quiet under such a Peace. But I am now arrived at my full period, and so shall

1713. close this Work. I had a noble Prospect before me, in a course of many years, of bringing it to a glorious Conclusion; now the Scene is so fatally altered, that I can scare restrain myself from giving vent to a just indignation, in severe Complaints: But an Historian must tell things truly as they are, and leave the descanting on them to others: So I here conclude this History of above three and fifty Years.

I pray God it may be read with the same candor and sincerity, with which I have written it, and with such a degree of attention, as may help those who read it, to form just reflections, and sound principles of Religion and Virtue, of Duty to our Princes, and of Love to our Country, with a sincere and incorruptible Zeal to preserve our Religion, and to maintain our Liberty and Property.

THE

THE CONCLUSION*

I HAVE now ſet out the ſtate of Affairs for above half a Century, with all the care and attention that I was capable of; I have enquired into all matters among us, and have obſerved them during the courſe of my life, with a particular application and impartiality. But my intention in writing was not ſo much, to tell a fine Tale to the World, and to amuſe them with a Diſcovery of many Secrets and of Intrigues of State, to blaſt the Memory of ſome and to exalt others, to diſgrace one Party and to recommend another: My chief Deſign was better formed, and deeper laid: It was to give ſuch a diſcovery of Errors in Government, and of the Exceſſes and Follies of Parties, as may make the next Age wiſer, by what I may tell them of the laſt. And I may preſume, that the Obſervations I have made, and the Account that I have given, will gain me ſo much credit, that I may ſpeak with a plain freedom to all ſorts of

* This was written in may 1708. the Author then thinking he had but two years more to write of his Hiſtory. See pag. 1088

of Perſons: This not being to be publiſhed 'till after I am dead, when Envy, Jealouſy or Hatred will be buried with me in my Grave; I may hope, that what I am now to offer to ſucceeding Ages, may be better heard, and leſs cenſured, than any thing I could offer to the preſent: So that this is a ſort of Teſtament or Dying Speech, which I leave behind me, to be read and conſidered when I can ſpeak no more: I do moſt earneſtly beg of God to direct me in it, and to give it ſuch an effect on the Minds of thoſe who read it, that I may do more good, when dead, than I could ever hope to do while I was alive.

My Zeal for the Church of *England.*

My Thoughts have run moſt, and dwelt longeſt on the concerns of the Church and Religion: Therefore I begin with them. I have always had a true Zeal for the Church of *England*; I have lived in its Communion with great joy, and have purſued its true intereſts with an unfeigned affection: Yet I muſt ſay there are many things in it, that have been very uneaſy to me.

The Doctrine.

The requiring Subſcriptions to the Thirty-nine Articles is a great impoſition: I believe them all myſelf; But as thoſe, about Original Sin and Predeſtination, might be expreſſed more unexceptionably, ſo I think it is a better way, to let ſuch matters continue to be ſtill the Standard of Doctrine, with ſome few corrections, and to cenſure thoſe who teach any contrary Tenets; than

to oblige all, that ſerve in the Church, to ſubſcribe them: The greater part ſubſcribe without ever examining them; and others do it becauſe they muſt do it, tho' they can hardly ſatisfy their Conſciences about ſome things in them. Churches and Societies are much better ſecured by Laws, than by Subſcriptions: It is a more reaſonable, as well as a more eaſy method of Government.

The Worſhip. Our Worſhip is the perfecteſt compoſition of Devotion, that we find in any Church, ancient or modern: Yet the Corrections that were agreed to, by a Deputation of Biſhops and Divines in the Year 1689, would make the whole frame of our Liturgy ſtill more perfect, as well as more unexceptionable; and will, I hope, at ſome time or other, be better entertained, than they were then. I am perſuaded they are ſuch, as would bring in the much greater part of the Diſſenters to the Communion of the Church, and are in themſelves deſirable, tho' there were not a Diſſenter in the Nation.

And Diſcipline. As for the Eccleſiaſtical Juriſdiction, it has been the burden of my life, to ſee how it was adminiſtred: Our Courts are managed under the Rules of the Canon Law, dilatory and expenſive; And as their Conſtitution is bad, ſo the buſineſs in them is ſmall; and therefore all poſſible contrivances are uſed, to make the moſt of thoſe Cauſes, that come before them: So that

they are universally dreaded and hated. God grant that a time may come, in which that noble Design, so near being perfected in King *Edward* the Sixth's days, of the *Reformatio Legum Ecclesiasticarum*, may be reviewed and established: That so Matrimonial and Testamentary Causes, which are of a mixed nature, may be left, a little better regulated, to the Lay Hands of Chancellors and other Officers; but that the whole Correction of the Manners of the Laity, and the Inspection into the Lives and Labours of the Clergy, may be brought again into the hands of Spiritual Men, and be put into a better method. It would be well if, after the poor Clergy are relieved by the Tenths and First Fruits, a Fund were formed (of twenty or thirty Pound a-year) for the Rural Deans; and that they, with at least three of the Clergy of the Deanry, named by the Bishop, examined into the Manners both of Clergy and Laity; and after the methods of private Admonition, according to our Saviour's Rule, had been tried, without effect, that the matter should be laid before the Bishop, who, after his Admonitions were also ineffectual, might proceed to Censures, to a Suspension from the Sacrament, and to a full Excommunication, as the case should require. This would bring our Church indeed into a primitive form, in which at present the Clergy have less Authority, and are under more contempt, than

in

in any Church, that I have yet ſeen. For, tho' in the Church of *Rome*, the publick Authority is in general managed, according to the method continued among us, yet it was in many particulars corrected by the Council of *Trent*; whereas we, by that unhappy Proviſo in the Act, authorizing the Thirty-two Commiſſioners to reform our Courts, are fatally tied down to all that was in uſe in the twenty-fifth Year of King *Henry* the Eighth. Beſides, in that Church the Clergy have, by auricular Confeſſion, but too great an Authority over the People; I am far from thinking that to be a lawful, or even a deſirable thing: But ſince that is not to be thought of, we are in a woful condition, in which the Clergy are, as it were, ſhut out from any ſhare of the main parts of the Care of Souls.

My Zeal againſt Separation.

The want of a true well-regulated Diſcipline is a great defect, own'd to be ſo in the Preface to the Office of Commination: And, while we continue in this condition, we are certainly in an imperfect ſtate. But this did never appear to me, to be a juſt ground of Separation; which I could never think lawful, unleſs the Terms of Communion among us were unlawful, and did oblige a Man to ſin: That ſeems to me, the only juſtifiable cauſe of Separation, of leaving the Eſtabliſhed Church, and of ſetting up a diſtinct or oppoſite Communion. Nothing under this ſeems to be a juſt ground of rending the Body of Chriſt, or of diſturbing the

Order of the World and the Peace of Mankind, thereby drawing on that train of ill consequences, that must and do follow upon such a disjointing the Society of Christians; by which they become alienated from one another, and in the sequel grow to hate and to devour each other, and by which they are in danger of being consumed one of another.

And tenderness to scrupulous Consciences.

I do wish, and will pray for it as long as I live, that some regard may be had to those Scruples, with which the Dissenters are entangled: And, tho' I think they are not all well grounded, yet for Peace sake I wish some things may be taken away, and that other things may be softened and explained: Many of these things were retained at the Reformation, to draw the People more entirely into it; who are apt to judge, especially in times of ignorance, by outward appearances, more than by the real value of things: So the preserving an exterior, that looked somewhat like what they had been formerly accustomed to, without doubt had a great effect at first on many Persons, who, without that, could not have been easily brought over to adhere to that Work: And this was a just and lawful consideration. But it is now at an end; none now are brought over from Popery by this means; there is not therefore such a necessity for continuing them still, as there was for keeping them up at first. I confess, it is not advisable, without good reason for it, to make

make great changes in things that are visible and sensible; yet, upon just grounds, some may be made without any danger. No inconvenience could follow, on leaving out the Cross in Baptism, or on laying aside Surplices, and regulating Cathedrals, especially as to that indecent way of singing Prayers, and of Laymen's reading the Litany: All Bowings to the Altar have at least an ill appearance, and are of no use; the excluding Parents from being the Sponsors in Baptism, and requiring them to procure others, is extreme inconvenient, and makes that to be a mockery, rather than a solemn Sponsion, in too many. Other things may be so explained, that no just exceptions could lie to them.

Thus I wish the terms of Communion were made larger and easier; but since all is now bound on us by a Law, that cannot be repealed but in Parliamet, there must be a great change in the minds, both of Prince and People, before that can be brought about: Therefore the Dissenters ought to consider well, what they can do for peace, without sinning against God. The Toleration does not at all justify their Separation; it only takes away the force of Penal Laws against them: Therefore, as Lying in common discourse is still a Sin, tho' no Statute punishes it; and Ingratitude is a base thing, tho' there is no Law against it; so Separating from a National Body and from the Publick Worship, is certainly an

ill thing, unleſs ſome Sin be committed there, in which we think ourſelves involved, by joining with that Body, and in that Worſhip: So that the Toleration is only a freedom from puniſhment, and does not alter the nature of the thing.

My Zeal againſt Perſecution.

I ſay not this from any dislike of Toleration; I think it is a Right due to all Men; their thoughts are not in their own power; they muſt think of things, as they appear to them; their Conſciences are God's: he only knows them, and he only can change them. And as the Authority of Parents over their Children is antecedent to Society, and no Law, that takes it away, can be binding; ſo Men are bound, antecedently to all Society, to follow what appears to them to be the Will of God; and, if Men would act honeſtly, the Rule of doing to all others what we would have others do to us, would ſoon determine this matter; ſince every honeſt Man muſt own, that he would think himſelf hardly dealt with, if he were ill uſed for his Opinions, and for performing ſuch parts of Worſhip, as he thought himſelf indiſpenſably obliged to. Indeed the Church of *Rome* has ſome colour for her cruelty; ſince ſhe pretends to be infallible: But theſe practices are abſurdly unreaſonable among thoſe, who own that they may be miſtaken, and ſo may be perſecuting the innocent & the orthodox. Perſecution, if it were lawful at all, ought to be extreme, and go, as it

it does in the Church of *Rome*, to extirpation; for the bad treatment of thoſe, who are ſuffered ſtill to live in a Society, is the creating ſo many Malecontents, who at ſome time or other may make thoſe, who treat them ill, feel their revenge: And the Principle of Perſecution, if true, is that to which all have a right, when they have a power to put it in practice: Since they, being perſuaded that they are in the right, from that muſt believe they may lawfully exert againſt others that ſeverity, under which they groaned long themſelves. This will be aggravated in them by the voice of Revenge, which is too apt to be well heard by human Nature, chiefly when it comes with the maſk and appearance of Zeal. I add not here any Political conſiderations, from the apparent Intereſt of Nations, which muſt diſpoſe them to encourage the encreaſe of their People, to advance induſtry, and to become a Sanctuary to all, who are oppreſſed: But tho' this is viſible and is confeſſed by all, yet I am now conſidering this matter only as it is righteous, juſt, and merciful, in the Principle; for if it were not ſo well ſupported in thoſe reſpects, other motives would only be a temptation to Princes & States to be governed by Intereſt, more than by their Duty.

My thoughts concerning the Clergy.

Having thus given my thoughts in general, with relation to the Conſtitution of our Church and the Communion with it, I ſhall proceed, in the next place, to that which

is

is ſpecial with relation to the Clergy. I have ſaid agreat deal on this head, in my Book of the *Paſtoral Care*, which of all the Tracts I ever wrote, is that in which I rejoice the moſt: And, tho' it has brought much anger on me from thoſe, who will not ſubmit to the Plan there laid down, yet it has done much good during my own life; and I hope it will do yet more good, after I am dead: This is a ſubject I have thought much upon, and ſo I will here add ſome things, to what will be found in that Book.

An inward Vocation.

No Man ought to think of this Profeſſion, unleſs he feels within himſelf a love to Religion, with a zeal for it, and an internal true piety; which is chiefly kept up by ſecret prayer, and by reading of the Scriptures. As long as theſe things are a Man's burden, they are infallible indications, that he has no inward Vocation, nor motion of the Holy Ghoſt to undertake it. The capital Error in Men's preparing themſelves for that Function is, that they ſtudy Books more than themſelves, and that they read Divinity more in other Books, than in the Scriptures: Days of Prayer, Meditation, and Faſting, at leaſt once a quarter in the *Ember* Week, in which they may read over and over again both Offices of Ordination, and get by heart thoſe paſſages in the Epiſtles to *Timothy* and *Titus*, that relate to this function, would form their minds to a right

ſenſe

ſenſe of it, and be an effectual mean to prepare them duly for it.

Ask yourſelves often (for thus I addreſs my ſelf to you, as if I were ſtill alive) would you follow that courſe of life, if there were no ſettled eſtabliſhment belonging to it, and if you were to preach under the Croſs, and in danger of perſecution? For till you arrive at that, you are yet carnal, and come into the Prieſthood, for a piece of Bread: Study to keep alive in you a flame of exalted Devotion; be talking often to yourſelves, and communing with your own hearts; digeſt all that you read carefully, that you may remember it ſo well, as not to be at a loſs when any Point of Divinity is talked of: A little Study well digeſted, in a good ſerious mind, will go a great way, and will lay in materials for your whole life. Above all things, raiſe within yourſelves a zeal for doing good, and for gaining Souls; indeed I have lamented, during my whole life, that I ſaw ſo little true Zeal among our Clergy: I ſaw much of it in the Clergy of the Church of *Rome*, tho' it is both ill directed and ill conducted: I ſaw much Zeal likewiſe throughout the foreign Churches: The Diſſenters have a great deal among them; but I muſt own, that the main body of our Clergy has always appeared dead and lifeleſs to me; and inſtead of animating one another, they ſeem rather to lay one another aſleep. Without a viſible alteration in this, you will

fall

fall under an universal contempt, and lose both the credit and the fruits of your Ministry.

The Function of the Clergy.

When you are in Orders, be ever ready to perform all the parts of your Function: Be not anxious about a Settlement; study to distinguish yourselves in your Studies, Labours, exemplary deportment, and a just sweetness of temper, managed with gravity and discretion; and as for what concerns your selves, depend on the Providence of God; for he will in due time raise up Friends and Benefactors to you. I do affirm this, upon the observation of my whole life, that I never knew any one, who conducted himself by these Rules, but he was brought into good Posts, or at least into an easy state of Subsistence.

Do not affect to run into new Opinions, nor to heat yourselves in Disputes, about matters of small importance: Begin with settling in your minds the Foundations of your Faith; and be full of this, and ready at it, that you may know how to deal with Unbelievers; for that is the spreading corruption of this Age: There are few Atheists, but many Infidels, who are indeed very little better than the Atheists. In this Argument, you ought to take pains to have all well digested, and clearly laid in your thoughts, that you may manage the Controversy gently, without any asperity of words, but with a strength of Reason: In disputing, do not offer to answer any Ar-

Argument, of which you never heard before, and know nothing concerning it; that will both expoſe you, and the Cauſe you maintain; and, if you feel yourſelves grow too warm at any time, break off and perſiſt no longer in the diſpute; for you may by that grow to an indecent heat, by which you may wrong the Cauſe, which you endeavour to defend. In the matter of Myſteries be very cautious; for the ſimplicity, in which thoſe ſublime Truths are delivered in the Scriptures, ought to be well ſtudied and adhered to: Only one part of the Argument ſhould be inſiſted on, I mean, the ſhortneſs and defectiveneſs of our Faculties; which being well conſidered, will afford a great variety of noble Speculations, that are obvious and eaſily apprehended, to reſtrain the wanton ſallies of ſome petulant Men.

Study to underſtand well the Controverſies of the Church of *Rome*, chiefly thoſe concerning Infallibility and Tranſubſtantiation; for, in managing thoſe, their Miſſionaries have a particular addreſs. Learn to view Popery in a true light, as a Conſpiracy to exalt the Power of the Clergy, even by ſubjecting the moſt ſacred Truths of Religion to contrivances for raiſing their Authority, and by offering to the World another method of being ſaved, beſides that preſcribed in the Goſpel. Popery is a maſs of Impoſtures, ſupported by Men, who manage them with great advantages, and impoſe

poſe them with inexpreſſible ſeverities, on thoſe who dare call any thing in queſtion, that they dictate to them. I ſee a Spirit riſing among us, too like that of the Church of *Rome*, of advancing the Clergy beyond their due authority, to an unjuſt pitch: This rather heightens Jealouſies and prejudices againſt us, than advances our real authority; and it will fortify the Deſigns of profane Infidels who deſire nothing more than to ſee the publick Miniſtry of the Church firſt diſgraced, and then aboliſhed. The carrying any thing too far does commonly lead Men into the other extream. We are the Diſpenſers of the Word and Sacraments; and the more faithful and diligent we are in this, the World will pay ſo much the more reſpect and ſubmiſſion to us: And our maintaining an argument for more power, than we now have, will be of no effect, unleſs the World ſees, that we make a good uſe of the authority, that is already in our hands. It is with the Clergy as with Princes; the only way to keep their Prerogative from being uneaſy to their Subjects, and from being diſputed, is to manage it wholly for their good and advantage; then all will be for it, when they find it is for them: This will prevail more effectually, than all the Arguments of Lawyers, with all the Precedents of former times. Therefore let the Clergy live and labour well, and they will feel that as much authority will follow that, as they will

will know how to manage well. And to ſpeak plainly; *Dodwell's* extravagant notions, which have been too much drunk in by the Clergy in my time, have weakened the power of the Church, and ſoured Men's minds more againſt it, than all the Books wrote, or attempts made againſt it, could ever have done: And indeed, the ſecret poiſon of thoſe Principles has given too many of the Clergy a biaſs towards Popery, with an averſion to the Reformation, which has brought them under much contempt. This is not to be recovered, but by their living and labouring, as they ought to do, without an eager maintaining of arguments for their authority, which will never ſucceed, till they live better and labour more. When I ſay live better, I mean, not only to live without ſcandal, which I have found the greateſt part of them do, but to lead exemplary lives; to be eminent in Humility, Meekneſs, Sobriety, Contempt of the World, and unfeigned Love of the Brethren; abſtracted from the vain Converſation of the world, retired, and at home, faſting often, joining Prayer and Meditation with it, without which, faſting may do well with relation to the body, but will ſignify little with relation to the mind.

If, to ſuch a courſe of life, Clergymen would add a little more labour, not only performing publick Offices, and preaching to the edification of the People, but watch-

ing over them, inſtructing them, exhorting, reproving, and comforting them, as occaſion is given, from houſe to houſe, making their Calling the buſineſs of their whole life; they would ſoon find their own minds grow to be in a better temper, and their People would ſhew more eſteem and regard for them, and a bleſſing from God would attend upon their Labours. I ſay it with great regret, I have obſerved the Clergy, in all the places thro' which I have travelled, Papiſts, Lutherans, Calviniſts and Diſſenters; but of them all, our Clergy is much the moſt remiſs in their labours in private, and the leaſt ſevere in their lives. Do not think I ſay this to expoſe you, or to defame this Church; thoſe cenſures have paſs'd on me for my freedom during my life, God knows how unjuſtly, my deſigns being all to awake the Clergy, and by that means to preſerve the Church; for which, he, who knows all things, knows, how much and how long I have been mourning in ſecret, and faſting and praying before him. And let me ſay this freely to you, now that I am out of the reach of envy and cenſure, unleſs a better Spirit poſſeſſes the Clergy, Arguments, (and which is more) Laws and Authority will not prove ſtrong enough to preſerve the Church; eſpecially if the Nation obſerves a progreſs in that biaſs, which makes many ſo favourable to Popery, and ſo ſevere towards the Diſſenters; this will recommend them the more to pity and favour, and will draw

a

a general odium upon you, that may end in your ruin, or in a Perſecution; for which the Clergy of this Age ſeem to be very little prepared; God grant thoſe of the next may be more ſo.

Oh my Brethern, (for I ſpeak to you as if I were among you,) think what manner of Perſons you ought to be, in all holy converſation and godlineſs, that ſo you may ſhine as lights in the world: Think of the account you muſt give, for thoſe immortal Souls committed to your care, which were redeemed by the Blood of Chriſt, who has ſent you in his Name, to perſuade them to be reconciled to God, and at laſt to preſent them to him faultleſs with exceeding joy; he ſees and obſerves your labours, and will recompence them glorioufly in that great day.

I leave all theſe things on your Conſciences, and pray earneſtly that God may give his bleſſing to this poſthumous labour of mine, that our Church may be ſo built up by your labours, that it may continue to be long the joy of the whole Earth, in the perfection of its beauty, and may be a pattern, as well as give protection, to all the Churches of God.

I now turn to my Brethren and Succeſſors in the the Epiſcopal Order: You are they in whoſe hands the Government of the Church is put; in ſome reſpects it is believed to be wholly in you, tho' I know, and have often felt it, that your power is ſo limited, that you can do little: Exemptions (a ſcandalous remnant of Popery) take a great

My Advices to the Biſhops.

great part of your Dioceſes out of your hands. This I have often wondred at, that ſome who plead, that the Government of the Church is ſettled by Divine Authority in the Biſhops, can yet, by the virtue of Papal Bulls, confirmed by an unhappy clauſe in an Act of Parliament, exerciſe Epiſcopal Jurisdiction; which is plainly to act by virtue of the Secular Power, in oppoſition to that, which, according to their Principles, is ſettled by a Divine Appointment. Archdeacons Viſitations were an invention of the latter Ages, in which the Biſhops, neglecting their duty, caſt a great part of their care upon them: Now their Viſitations are only for Form and for Fees; and they are a charge on the Clergy; ſo, when this matter is well looked into, I hope Archdeacons, with many other burdens that ly heavy on the Clergy, ſhall be taken away. All the various inſtruments, upon which heavy Fees muſt be raiſed, were the infamous contrivances of the Canoniſts, and can never be maintained, when well examined. I ſay nothing to you of your Lives, I hope you are and ſhall ever be ſhining Lights; I wiſh the pomp of living, and the keeping high Tables could be quite taken away; it is a great charge, and no very decent one; a great devourer of time; it lets in much promiſcuous company, and much vain diſcourſe upon you: Even Civility may carry you too far, in a freedom and familiarity, that will make you look too like the reſt of the world; I hope this

this is a burden to you: It was indeed one of the greateſt burdens of my life, to ſee ſo much time loſt, to hear ſo much idle talk, and to be living in a luxurious waſte of that, which might have been much better beſtowed. I had not ſtrength enough to break thro' that, which Cuſtom has impoſed on thoſe, provided with plentiful Biſhopricks; I pray God to help you to find a decent way of laying this down.

The Wives and Children of Biſhops ought to be exemplary in their apparel, and in their whole deportment; remembring that no part of the Biſhops Honours belong to them: The Wife of a Biſhop ought to viſit the Widow and the Fatherleſs, and by a grave Authority, inſtruct and admoniſh, as well as oblige and favour the Wives of the reſt of the Clergy.

The Children of Biſhops ought to be well inſtructed, and managed with all gravity; Biſhops ought not to preſs them beyond their inclinations to take Orders: For this looks as if they would thruſt them, how unfit or unwilling ſoever, into ſuch Preferments as they can give or procure for them: On the contrary, tho' their Children ſhould deſire to go into Orders, they ought not to ſuffer it, unleſs they ſee in them a good mind and ſincere intentions, with the other neceſſary qualifications; in which they cannot be deceived, unleſs they have a mind to deceive themſelves: It is a betraying of their truſt, and the

worſt ſort of Simony, to provide Children with great Dignities and Benefices, only as an Eſtate to be given them, without a due regard to their capacities or tempers. Ordinations are the only parts of the Epiſcopal Function, on which the Law has laid no reſtraint; ſo this ought to be heavy on your thoughts.

Ordination weeks were always dreadful things to me, when I remembred thoſe words, *Lay Hands ſuddenly on no Man, be not partaker of other Men's ſins: Keep thy ſelf pure.* It is true, thoſe who came to me were generally well prepared as to their Studies, and they brought Teſtimonials and Titles, which is all that in our preſent conſtitution can be demanded: I never put over the examining them to my Chaplains: I did that always myſelf, and examined them chiefly on the proofs of Revealed Religion, and the Terms of Salvation, and the new Covenant thro' Chriſt; for thoſe are the fundamentals: But my principal care was to awaken their Conſciences, to make them conſider whether they had a motion of the Holy Ghoſt, calling them to the function, and to make them apprehend, what belonged both to a ſpiritual life, and to the Paſtoral care. On theſe ſubjects I ſpoke much and often to every one of them a-part, and ſome-times to them all together, beſides the publick Examination of them with my Chapter.

This was all that I could do: But alas! how

how defective is this! And it is too well known how eaſy the Clergy are, in ſigning Teſtimonials: That which I here propoſe is, that every Man, who intends to be ordained, ſhould be required to come and acquaint the Biſhop with it a year before: that ſo he may then talk to his Conſcience, and give him good directions, both as to his Studies and the courſe of his Life and Devotions; and that he may recommend him to the care and inſpection of the beſt Clergymen, that he knows in the neighbourhood where he lives; that ſo he may have from them by ſome other conveyance than the Perſon concerned, ſuch an account of him as he may rely on. This is all that can be propoſed, till our Univerſities are put in a better method, or till Seminaries can be raiſed for maintaining a number of Perſons, to be duly prepared for holy Orders. An expedient concerning Ordinations.

As to the Labours of a Biſhop, they ought to think themſelves obliged to preach, as much as their Health and Age can admit of; this the Form of ordaining Biſhops ſets before them, together with the ſenſe of the Church in all Ages; the complaint of of the beſt Men, in the worſt Ages, ſhews how much the ſloth and lazineſs of Biſhops will be cried out on, and how acceptable the labours of preaching Biſhops have always been: The People run to hear them, and hearken to their Sermons, with more than ordinary attention: You will find great The Duties of a Biſhop.

comfort in your labours this way, and, will ſee the fruits of them. The diſcreet conduct of your Clergy is to be your chief care; keep not at too great a diſtance, and yet let them not grow too familiar: A Biſhop's diſcourſe ſhould be well ſeaſoned, turned chiefly to good ſubjects, Inſtruction in the matters of Religion, and the Paſtoral care: And the more diverting ones ought to be matters of Learning, Criticiſm, or Hiſtory. It is in the power of a Biſhop to *let no Man deſpiſe him.*

A grave but ſweet deportment and a holy converſation will command a general reſpect; and as for ſome hot and froward Spirits, the leſs they are meddled with, they will be the leſs able to do miſchief; they delight in oppoſition, which they think will make them the more conſiderable. I have had much experience this way, nothing mortifies them ſo much as neglect; the more abſtracted Biſhops live (from the World, from Courts, from Cabals, and from Parties) they will have the more quiet within themſelves; their thoughts will be free and leſs intangled, and they will in concluſion be the more reſpected by all, eſpecially if an integrity and a juſt freedom appear among them in the Houſe of Lords, where they will be much obſerved; and judgments will be made of them there, that will follow them home to their Dioceſſes.

Nothing will alienate the Nation more from

from them, than their becoming Tools to a Court, and giving up the Liberties of their Country, and advancing arbitrary deſigns; nothing will work more effectually on the Diſſenters, than a courſe of Moderation towards them; this will diſarm their paſſions, and when that is done, they may be better dealt with in point of reaſon; all care ought to be taken, to ſtifle new Controverſies in their birth, to check new Opinions and vain curioſities. Their Abſtraction from Courts and Intrigues.

Upon the whole matter, Biſhops ought to conſider, that the honour given them, and the Revenues belonging to them, are ſuch rewards for former Services, and ſuch encouragements to go on to more labour and diligence, as ought to be improved, as ſo many helps and advantages for carrying on the work of the Goſpel, and their heavenly Father's buſineſs: They ought *to meditate on theſe things, and be wholly in them; ſo that their profiting may appear to all.* They ought *to preach in ſeaſon, and out of ſeaſon, to exhort, admoniſh, and rebuke, with all authority.*

But if they abandon themſelves to ſloth and idleneſs, if they neglect their proper Function, and follow a ſecular, a vain, a covetous or a luxurious courſe of life; if they, not content with educating their Children well, and with ſuch a competency as may ſet them afloat in the world, think of building up their own Houſes, and raiſing up great Eſtates, they will put the world

on many unacceptable enquiries: Wherefore is this waſte made? Why are theſe Revenues continued to Men, who make ſuch an ill uſe of them? and why is an Order kept up, that does the Church ſo little good, and gives it ſo much ſcandal? The violences of Archbiſhop *Laud*, and his promoting arbitrary Power, ruined himſelf and the Church both. A return of the like practices will bring with it the like dreadful conſequences: The Labours and the Learning, the Moderation and good Lives of the Biſhops of this Age have changed the Nation much, with relation to them, and have poſſeſſed them of a general eſteem; ſome fiery Spirits only excepted, who hate and revile them for that, which is their true glory: I hope another Age may carry this yet much further, that ſo they may be univerſally looked on, as the true and tender-hearted Fathers of the Church.

Concerning Patrons.

The affinity of the matter leads me, before I enter on another ſcene, to ſay ſomewhat concerning the Patronage of Benefices, which have a care of Souls belonging to them: it is a noble Dignity in a Family; it was highly eſteemed in the times of Popery, becauſe the Patron was to be named, in all the Maſſes ſaid in his Church: There is a more real value in it in our Conſtitution, ſince the Patron has the Nomination of him, to whom the care of Souls is to be committed; which muſt take place, unleſs ſome juſt and legal exception can be made by the Biſhop. Even

that

that is not eaſy to be maintained, in the Courts of Law, where the Biſhop will ſoon be run into ſo great an expence, that I am afraid many, rather than venture on that, receive unworthy Men into the ſervice of the Church, who are in the ſequel Reproaches to it; & this is often the caſe of the richeſt and beſt-endowed Benefices.

Some ſell the next Advowſon, which I know is ſaid to be legal, tho' the Incumbent lies at the point of death; others do not ſtick to buy and ſell Benefices, when open and vacant, tho' this is declared to be Simony by Law: Parents often buy them for their Children, and reckon that is their Portion; in that caſe, it is true there is no Perjury in taking the Oath, for the Perſon preſented is no party to the bargain: Often Eccleſiaſticks themſelves buy the next Advowſon, and lodge it with Truſtees for their own advantage.

Where nothing of all this traffick intervenes, Patrons beſtow Benefices on their Children or Friends, without conſidering either their abilities or merit; Favour or Kindred being the only thing that weighs with them. When all this is laid together, how great a part of the Benefices of *England* are diſpoſed of, if not ſimoniacally, yet at leaſt unworthily, without regard to ſo ſacred a Truſt, as the care of Souls? Certainly Patrons, who, without due care and enquiry, put Souls into bad hands, have much to anſwer for.

I will not ſay, that a Patron is bound always to beſtow his Church on the beſt Man he can find; that may put him on anxieties, out of which it will not be eaſy to extricate himſelf; nor will it be always poſſible to ballance the different excellencies of Men, who may have various talents, that lie ſeveral ways, and all of them may be uſeful, ſome more, ſome leſs: But in this I am poſitive, that no Patron anſwers the obligation of that truſt, unleſs he is well perſuaded, that the Clerk he preſents is a truely good Man, has a competent meaſure of knowledge, zeal and diſcretion, ſo ſuited to the People, for whom he names him, that he has reaſon to believe, he will be a faithful Paſtor and a Prudent Guide to them.

Patrons ought to take this on their Conſcience, to manage it with great caution, and in the fear of God, and not to enter into that filthy Merchandiſe of the Souls of Men, which is too common; it is like to be a moth on their Eſtates, and may bring a curſe on their Families, as well as on their Perſons.

Non-reſidence and Pluralities.

I do not enter into the ſcandalous practices of Non-reſidence and Pluralities, which are ſheltred by ſo many colours of Law among us; whereas the Church of *Rome*, from whence we had thoſe and many other abuſes, has freed herſelf from this, under which we ſtill labour, to our great and juſt reproach: This is ſo ſhame-

full

full a profanation of Holy things, that it ought to be treated with deteſtation and horrour: Do ſuch Men think on the Vows, they made on their Ordination; on the Rules in the Scriptures, or on the Nature of their function, or that it is a care of Souls? How long, how long ſhall this be the peculiar diſgrace of our Church, which, for aught I know, is the only Church in the world that tolerates it? I muſt add, that I do not reckon the holding poor Livings that lie contiguous, a Plurality, where both are looked after, and both afford only a competent maintenance.

Concerning the Body of the People.

I have now gone thro' the moſt important things, that occur to my thoughts with relation to the Clergy: I turn next to ſuch obſervations, reflections, and advices, as relate to the Laity. I begin with the Body of the People: The Commonalty of this Nation are much the happieſt, and live the eaſieſt and the moſt plentifully of any, that ever I ſaw: They are very ſagacious and skilful in managing all their concerns; but at the ſame time it is not to be conceived how ignorant they are in the matters of Religion: The Diſſenters have a much larger ſhare of knowledge among them, than is among thoſe who come to our Churches. This is the more to be wondered at, conſidering the plainneſs, in which matters of Religion are wrote in this Age, and the many ſmall Books concerning theſe, that have been pub-

publiſhed of late years, which go at eaſy rates, and of which many Thouſands are every year ſent about, by charitable Societies in *London*, to be freely given to ſuch as will but take them, and read them: So that this ignorance ſeems to be obſtinate and incurable.

Upon this ſubject, all that I can propoſe, lies in two advices to the Clergy: The one is, that they catechize the Youth much at Church, not only asking the queſtions and hearing the anſwers, but joining to that the explaining the terms in other words, and by turning to the Bible for ſuch paſſages as prove or enlarge on them. The doing this conſtantly, would infuſe into the next Age, a higher meaſure of knowledge, than the preſent is like to be bleſs'd with. Long Sermons, in which points of Divinity or Morality are regularly handled, are above the the capacity of the People; ſhort and plain ones, upon a large portions of Scripture, would be better hearkened to, and have a much better effect; they would make the Hearers underſtand and love the Scriptures more. Preachers ought to dwell often, in their Sermons, on thoſe Sins that their Hearers muſt needs know themſelves guilty of, if they are ſo; ſuch as Swearing, Lying, Cheating, Drunkenneſs, Leud deportment, Breach of Promiſe, Love of the World, Anger, Envy, Malice, Pride and Luxury: Short diſcourſes upon theſe, and often repeated, in many glances

glances and reflections on them, ſetting forth the real evil of them, with the ill conſequences that follow, not only to others, but to the perſons themſelves, are the beſt means can be thought of, for reforming them; and theſe will have an effect on ſome, if not on many. But above all, and in order to all the reſt, they ought to be called on, upon all occaſions, to reflect on their ways, to conſider how they live, to pray in ſecret to God, confeſſing their ſins to him, begging pardon and mercy for what is paſt, and his Holy Spirit to aſſiſt, ſtrengthen, and direct them for the time to come, forming ſincere reſolutions to amend their ways, with relation to every particular ſin, that they find they may have fallen into. If the Clergy will faithfully do their duty in this method, and join to it earneſt prayers for their people, they may hope thro' the bleſſing of God to ſucceed better in their labours. The People ought to be often put in mind of the true end of the reſt on the Lord's day, which is chiefly to give them time and opportunity, for meditations and reflections on themſelves, on what they have ſaid or done, and on what has befallen them the former week; and to conſider what may be before them, in the week they are entring on. Miniſters ought to viſit their People, not only when they are ſick unto death, but when they are in an ill ſtate of health, or when they are nder affliction: Theſe are the

times

times, in which their Spirits are tender, and they will beſt bear with a due freedom, which ought to be managed, in the diſcreeteſt and moſt affectionate manner: And a Clergyman ought not to be a Reſpecter of Perſons, and neglect the meaneſt of his Cure: They have as immortal Souls as the greateſt, and for which Chriſt has paid the ſame Ranſom.

Of the Gentry. From the Commonalty I turn to the Gentry: They are for the moſt part the worſt inſtructed, and leaſt knowing of any of their rank, I ever went amongſt. The *Scotch*, tho' leſs able to bear the expence of a learned Education, are much more knowing: The reaſon of which is this; the *Scotch*, even of indifferent Fortunes ſend private Tutors with their Children, both to Schools and Colleges; theſe look after the young Gentlemen, mornings and evenings, and read over with them what they have learned: and ſo make them perfecter in it: They generally go abroad a year or two, and ſee the World; this obliges them to behave themſelves well. Whereas a Gentleman here is often both ill taught and ill bred: This makes him haughty and inſolent. The Gentry are not early acquainted with the Principles of Religion; So that, after they have forgot their Catechiſm, they acquire no more new knowledge, but what they learn in Plays and Romances: They grow ſoon to find it a modiſh thing, that looks like Wit and Spirit,

Spirit, to laugh at Religion and Virtue; and ſo become crude and unpoliſhed Infidels. If they have taken a wrong tincture at the Univerſity, that too often diſpoſes them to hate and deſpiſe all thoſe, who ſeparate from the Church, tho' they can give no better reaſon than the Papiſts have for hating Hereticks, becauſe they forſake the Church: In thoſe Seats of Education, inſtead of being formed to love their Country and Conſtitution, the Laws and Liberties of it, they are rather diſpoſed to love Arbitrary Government, and to become Slaves to abſolute Monarchy: A change of intereſt, provocation, or ſome other conſideration may ſet them right again as to the Publick; but they have no inward Principle of Love to their Country, and of publick Liberty: So that they are eaſily brought to like Slavery, if they may be the Tools for managing it.

The Danger of loſing Publick Liberty.

This is a diſmal repreſentation of things: I have ſeen the Nation thrice, on the brink of ruin, by Men thus tainted. After the Reſtoration, all were running faſt into Slavery; had King *Charles* the Second been attentive to thoſe bad deſigns (which he purſued afterwards with more caution) upon his firſt return, Slavery and Abſolute Power might then have been ſettled into a Law, with a Revenue able to maintain it: He plaid away that Game without thought, and he had then honeſt Miniſters, who would not ſerve him in it: After all that

he did, during the courſe of his Reign, it was ſcarce credible, that the ſame temper ſhould have returned in his time; yet he recovered it in the laſt four years of his Reign; and the Gentry of *England* were as active and zealous, to throw up all their Liberties, as their Anceſtors ever had been to preſerve them. This continued above half a year in his Brother's Reign; and he depended ſo much upon it, that he thought it could never go out of his hands: But he, or rather his Prieſts, had the skill and dexterity to play this Game likewiſe away, and loſe it a ſecond time; ſo that, at the Revolution, all ſeemed to come again into their Wits. But Men, who have no Principles, cannot be ſteady; now the greater part of the capital Gentry ſeem to return again to a love of Tyranny, provided they may be the Under-Tyrants themſelves; and they ſeem to be even uneaſy with a Court, when it will not be as much a Court as they would have it. This is a folly of ſo particular a nature, that really it wants a name: It is natural for poor Men, who have little to loſe, and much to hope for, to become the inſtruments of Slavery; but it is an extravagance, peculiar to our Age, to ſee rich Men grow as it were in love with Slavery and Arbitrary Power. The root of all this is, that our Gentry are not betimes poſſeſſed with a true meaſure of ſolid Knowledge and ſound Religion, with a Love to their Country, a Hatred of Tyrany, and

a

a Zeal for Liberty. *Plutarch*'s Lives, with the *Greek* and *Roman* Hiſtory, ought to be early put in their hands; they ought to be well acquainted with all Hiſtory, more particularly that of our own Nation; which they ſhould not read in Abridgments, but in the fulleſt and moſt copious Collectors of it, that they may ſee to the bottom, what is our Conſtitution, and what are our Laws; what are the methods bad Princes have taken to enſlave us, and by what conduct we have been preſerved: Gentlemen ought to obſerve theſe things, and to entertain one another often upon theſe ſubjects, to raiſe in themſelves, and to ſpread around them to all others, a noble ardour for Law and Liberty. They ought to underſtand Popery well, to view it in its Politicks, as well as in its religious corruptions, that they may obſerve and guard againſt their ſecreteſt practices; particularly that main one, that prevails ſo fatally among us, of making us deſpiſe the foreign Churches, and hate the Diſſenters at home. The whole Body of Proteſtants, if united, might be an equal Match to the Church of *Rome*: It is much ſuperiour to them in wealth and in force, if it were animated with the zeal, which the Monaſtick Orders, but chiefly the *Jeſuits*, ſpread thro' their whole Communion: Whereas the Reformed are cold and unconcerned, as well as disjointed in matters that relate to Religion. The chief Maxim by which Men, who

have a true zeal for their Religion and their Country, ought to govern themſelves, is, to live within the extent of their Eſtates, to be above Luxury and Vanity, and all expences that waſte their Fortunes: Luxury muſt drive them to court Favour, to depend on Miniſters, and to aſpire after Places and Penſions; and as the ſeeking after theſe does often compleat the ruin of broken Families, ſo in many they prove only a Reprieve, and not a Recovery; whereas he, who is contented with his Fortune, and meaſures his way of living by it, has another root within him; out of which every noble and generous thought will naturally ſpring. Publick Liberty has no ſure foundation but in Virtue, in Parſimony and Moderation: Where theſe fail, Liberty may be preſerved by accidents and circumſtances of affairs, but it has no bottom to reſt ſecurely on. A knowing and virtuous Gentleman, who underſtands his Religion and loves it, who practiſes the true rules of Virtue, without affectation and moroſeneſs, who knows enough of Law, to keep his Neighbours in order, and to give them good advice; who keeps Meetings for his his County, and reſtrains vice and diſorder at them; who lives hoſpitably, frugally and charitably; who reſpects and encourages good Clergymen, and worſhips God, both in his Family and at Church; who educates his Children well, who treats his Servants gently, and deals equitably with his

his Tenants and all others, with whom he has any concerns; ſuch a Man ſhines, and is a publick bleſſing to all that ſee him, or come near him. Some ſuch inſtances are yet left among us; but alas! there are not many of them. Can there be any thing more barbarous, or rather treacherous, than for Gentlemen to think it is one of the honours of their Houſes, that none muſt go out of them ſober; it is but a little more infamous to poiſon them; and yet this paſſes as a Character of a noble Houſe-keeper, who entertains his Friends kindly. Idleneſs and Ignorance are the ruin of the greateſt part, who, if they are not fit for better things, ſhould deſcend to any thing, rather than ſuffer themſelves to ſink into ſloth; that will carry them to the exceſſes of Hunting, Gaming and Drinking, which may ruin both Soul, Body & Eſtate. If a Man, by an ill-managed or a neglected education, is ſo turned, that every ſort of ſtudy or reading is a burden, then he ought to try if he has a Genius to any Mechaniſm, that may be an entertainment to him: The managing a Garden is a noble, and may be made a uſeful amuſement; the taking ſome part of his Eſtate into his own hands, if he looks carefully to it, will both employ his time well, and may turn to a good account; in a word, ſome Employments may be better than others; but there is no Employment ſo bad, as the having none at all; the mind will contract a ruſt,

and an unfitneſs for every good thing; and a Man muſt either fill up his time with good or at leaſt innocent buſineſs, or it will run to the worſt ſort of waſte, to Sin and Vice.

Errors in Education.

I have often thought it a great error, to waſte young Gentlemen's years ſo long, in learning *Latin*, by ſo tedious a Grammar: I know thoſe, who are bred to the Profeſſions in Literature, muſt have the *Latin* correctly; and for that, the Rules of Grammar are neceſſary: but theſe are not at all requiſite to thoſe, who need only ſo much *Latin*, as thoroughly to underſtand and delight in the *Roman* Authors and Poets. But ſuppoſe a Youth had, either for want of memory or of application, an incurable averſion to *Latin*, his Education is not for that to be deſpaired of; there is much noble Knowledge to be had in the *Engliſh* and *French* Languages; Geography, Hiſtory, chiefly that of our own Country, the knowledge of Nature, and the more practical parts of the Mathematicks (if he has not a Genius for the demonſtrative) may make a Gentleman very knowing, tho' he has not a word of *Latin*. There is a fineneſs of thought, and a nobleneſs of expreſſion indeed in the *Latin* Authors, that will make them the entertainment of a Man's whole life, if he once underſtands and reads them with delight: But if this cannot be attained to, I would not have it reckoned, that the Education of an ill *Latin* Scholar is to be given

given over. A competent measure of the Knowledge of the Law is a good foundation, for distinguishing a Gentleman; but I am in doubt, whether his being for some time in the Inns of Court will contribute much to this, if he is not a studious Person: Those who think they are there, only to pass away so many of their years, commonly run together, and live both idly and viciously. I should imagine it a much better way, tho' it is not much practised, to get a learned young Lawyer, who has not got into much business, to come and pass away a long Vacation or two with a Gentleman, to carry him through such an Introduction to the study of the Law, as may give him a full view of it, and good directions how to prosecute his study in it. A competent skill in this makes a Man very useful in his Country, both in conducting his own affairs, and in giving good advice to those about him: It will enable him to be a good Justice of Peace, and to settle matters by Arbitration, so as to prevent Law-suits; and, which ought to be the top of an *English* Gentleman's Ambition, to be an able Parliament Man: to which no Gentleman ought to pretend, unless he has a true zeal for his Country, with an inflexible integrity and resolution to pursue what appears to him just and right, and for the good of the Publick: The Parliament is the Fountain of Law, and the Fence of Liberty; and no sort of instruction is so necessary for a

Gentleman, as that which may qualify him to appear there with figure and reputation.

And in Marriages.

Gentlemen in their Marriages ought to conſider a great many things more than Fortune, tho', generally ſpeaking, that is the only thing ſought for: A good underſtanding, good Principles, and a good temper, with a liberal Education, and acceptable Perſon, are the firſt things to be conſidered: And certainly Fortune ought to come after all theſe. Thoſe bargains now in faſhion make often unhallowed Marriages, in which (beſides the greater evils) more Fortune is often waſted, than is brought, with a vain, a fooliſh, an indiſcreet and a hated Wife. The firſt thought in chooſing a Wife ought to be, to find a help meet for the Man: In a married ſtate the mutual ſtudy of both ought to be to help and pleaſe one another. This is the foundation of all domeſtick happineſs; as to ſtay at home and to love home, is the greateſt help to induſtry, order, and the good government of a family. I have dwelt the longer on this Article, becauſe on the forming the Gentry well, the good government of the Nation, both in and out of Parliament, does ſo much depend.

Of Trade and Induſtry.

As for the Men of Trade and Buſineſs, they are, generally ſpeaking, the beſt Body in the Nation, generous, ſober, and charitable: So that, while the People in the Country are ſo immerſed in their affairs, that the ſenſe of Religion cannot reach them

them, there is a better ſpirit ſtirring in our Cities; more Knowledge, more Zeal, and more Charity, with a great deal more of Devotion. There may be too much of vanity, with too pompous an exteriour, mixed with theſe in the Capital City; but upon the whole, they are the beſt we have. Want of excerciſe is a great prejudice to their health, and a corrupter of their minds, by raiſing vapours and melancholy, that fills many with dark thoughts, rendring Religion, which affords the trueſt joy, a burden to them, and making them even a burden to themſelves; this furniſhes prejudices againſt Religion to thoſe, who are but too much diſpoſed to ſeek for them. The too conſtant intercourſe of viſits in town is a vaſt conſumption of time, and gives much occaſion to talk, which is at beſt idle, if not worſe: This certainly wants Regulation, and is the effect of idleneſs and vanity.

The Stage is the great corrupter of the Town; and the bad People of the Town have been the chief corrupters of the Stage, who run moſt after thoſe Plays that defile the Stage and the Audience: Poets will ſeek to pleaſe, as Actors will look for ſuch Pieces, as draw the moſt Spectators. They pretend their deſign is to diſcourage Vice; but they do really recommend it, in the moſt effectual manner. It is a ſhame to our Nation and Religion, to ſee the Stage ſo reformed in *France*, and ſo pol- Of the Stage.

luted ſtill in *England*. *Moliere* for Comedy and *Racine* for tragedy, are great Patterns; few can, and as few will ſtudy to copy after them. But till another Scene appears, certainly our Plays are the greateſt debauchers of the Nation. Gaming is a waſte of time, that riſes out of idleneſs, and is kept up by covetouſneſs; thoſe who can think, read, or write to any purpoſe, and thoſe who underſtand what converſation and friendſhip are, will not want ſuch a help to wear out the day; ſo that upon the whole matter, ſloth and ignorance, bad education and ill company, are the chief ſources of all our Vice and diſorders.

Of gameing.

Of educating the other Sex.

The ill methods of Schools and Colleges give the chief riſe to the irregularities of the Gentry; as the breeding young Women to Vanity, dreſſing and a falſe appearance of Wit and behaviour, without proper work or a due meaſure of knowledge and a ſerious ſenſe of religion, is the ſource of the corruption of that Sex: Something like Monaſteries without Vows would be a glorious deſign, and might be ſo ſet on foot, as to be the honour of a Queen on the Throne: But I will purſue this no further.

Of the Nobility.

My next Addreſs is to the Nobility; moſt of what I have propoſed to our Gentry does, in a more eminent manner, belong to them; the higher their condition is raiſed above other Gentlemen, ſo much the more emi-

eminent ought they to be in Knowledge and Virtue; the ſhare they have in Judicature in the Houſe of Lords, ſhould oblige them to acquaint themſelves with the Rules and Principles of Law; tho' an unbiaſſed integrity, neither moved by Friendſhip nor Party, with a true underſtanding, will for the moſt part direct them in their judgment, ſince few Caſes occur, where the point of Law is dark or doubtful.

Of their Education.

Every perſon of a high rank, whoſe Eſtate can bear it, ought to have two perſons to manage his Education; the one a Governour to form his mind, to give him true notions, to repreſent Religion and Virtue in a proper light to him, to give him a view of Geography, not barely deſcribing the Maps, but adding to it the Natural Hiſtory of every Country, its Productions, Arts, and Trade, with the Religion and Government of the Country, and a general idea of the Hiſtory of the World, and of the various Revolutions, that have hapened in it. Such a view will open a young perſon's mind: It muſt be often gone over, to fix it well. The ancient Government in *Greece*, but much more that of *Rome*, muſt be minutely delivered, that the difference, between a juſt and a vicious Government, may be well apprehended. The fall of the *Roman* greatneſs, under the Emperors, by reaſon of the abſolute power, that let Vice in upon them, which corrupted not only their Courts, but their Armies, ought to be

be fully opened: Then the *Gothick* Government, and the Feudal Law ſhould be clearly explained, to open the original of our own Conſtitution. In all this, the chief care of a wiſe and good Former of Youth ought to be, to poſſeſs a young Mind with noble principles of Juſtice, Liberty and Virtue, as the true baſis of Government; and with an averſion to Violence and Arbitrary Power, ſervile Flattery, Faction and Luxury, from which the corruption and ruin of all Governments have ariſen.

To this Governour (qualified for all this, to be ſought out and hired at any rate) I would join a Maſter for Languages and other things, in which this young Lord is to be inſtructed: who ought to be put under the direction and eye of the Governour, that his time may not be loſt in trifles; that nothing of Pedantry or of affectation may be infuſed into a young mind, which is to be prepared for great things. A ſimplicity of ſtyle, with a true and grave pronunciation, ought to be well looked to; and this young Nobleman ought to be accuſtomed, as he grows up, to ſpeak his thoughts, on the ſudden, with a due force and weight both of words and voice. I have often wondered to ſee Parents, who are to leave vaſt Eſtates, and who ſtick at no expence in other things, yet be ſo frugal and narrow in the education of their Children. They owe to their Country a greater care in preparing

paring the Eldeſt, to make that figure in it, to which he is born: And they owe to their younger Children, who are not to be ſo plentifully provided, ſuch a liberal Education, as may fit them to anſwer the Dignity of their birth, and prepare them for employments, by which they may in time give a further ſtrength and addition to their Family. I have been amazed to ſee, how profuſe ſome are, in procuring good Dancing, Fencing, and Riding-Maſters for their Children, and ſetting them out in fine clothes; and how ſparing they are in that, which is the chief and moſt important thing, and which in time may become the moſt uſeful, both to themſelves and to their Country. I look on the Education of the Youth, as the foundation of all that can be propoſed, for bettering the next Age: It ought to be one of the chief cares of all Governments, tho' there is nothing more univerſally neglected. How do ſome of our Peers ſhine, meerly by their Virtue and Knowledge; and what a contemptible figure do others make, with all their high Titles and great Eſtates?

Noblemen begin to neglect the having Chaplains in their houſes, and I do not much wonder at it, when I reflect on the behaviour of too many of theſe; light and idle, vain and inſolent, impertinent and pedantick; by this want however, the Worſhip of God, and the Inſtruction of Servants is quite neglected: But, if a little more

Of their Chaplains.

more care were taken to chooſe well, a Lord might make a good uſe of a Chaplain, not only for thoſe ends, which I have mentioned, but for the reading ſuch Books, as the Lord deſires to be well informed about, but has not leiſure to peruſe himſelf. Theſe he may read by his Chaplain, and receive an account of them from him, and ſee what are the principal things to be learnt from them, for which he may find leiſure, tho' not for the whole Book: By this means he may keep his Chaplain well imployed, and may encreaſe his own ſtock of knowledge, and be well furniſhed with relation to all new Books and new queſtions, that are ſtarted. The Family of a Nobleman, well choſen and well ordered, might look like a little Court in his Country: For tho' it is a happineſs to the Nation, that the great number of idle and uſeleſs retainers, that were about Noblemen anciently, is much reduced; yet ſtill they muſt entertain many Servants, to be either nuſances where they live, or to ſet a pattern to others. The greater Men are, they ought to be the more modeſt and affable, and more eaſy of acceſs, that ſo they may, by the beſt ſort of popularity, render themſelves acceptable to their Country: They ought more particularly, to protect the oppreſſed, to mortify inſolence and injuſtice, and to enter into the true grievances of their Country; that they may repreſent theſe, where it may be proper; and ſhew at leaſt

a tender care of thoſe, who ought to be protected by them, if they cannot effectually procure a redreſs of their Grievances. A continued purſuit of ſuch methods, with an exemplary deportment, would ſoon reſtore the Nobility to their ancient luſtre, from which they ſeem very ſenſible how much they are fallen, tho' they do not take the proper methods to recover it. Have we not ſeen in our time four or five Lords, by their Knowledge, good judgment and integrity, raiſe the Houſe of Peers to a pitch of reputation and credit, that ſeemed once beyond the expectation or belief of thoſe, who now ſee it? A progreſs in this method will give them ſuch Authority in the Nation, that they will be able, not only to ſupport their own Dignity, but even to ſupport the Throne and the Church. If ſo ſmall a number has raiſed Peerage to ſuch a regard, that the People, contrary to all former precedents, have conſidered them more than their own Repreſentatives; what might not be expected from a greater number purſuing the ſame methods? Theſe would become again that, which their Title imports, the Peers of the Crown, as well as of the Kingdom, of which that noble right of putting on their Coronets, at the Coronation, is a clear proof. Great Titles, ſeparated from the great Eſtates and the Intereſt their Anceſtors had in their Countries, muſt ſink, if not ſupported with ſomewhat of more value, great Merit and a ſublime Virtue.

After

Of the Parliament.

After I have offered what I think of the greateſt inportance to the ſeveral ranks of Men in the Nation, I go next to conſider that auguſt Body, in which they are all united; I mean the Parliament. As long as Elections are ſet to ſale, ſo long we are under a diſeaſe in our vitals, that if it be not remedied in time, muſt ruin us at laſt, and end in a change of Government; and what that may be, God only knows.

Of Elections.

All Laws that can be made, will prove ineffectual to cure ſo great an evil, till there comes to be a change and reformation of Morals in the Nation: We ſee former Laws are evaded, and ſo will all the Laws that can be made till the Candidates and Electors both become Men of another temper and other principles, than appear now among them: The expences of Elections ruin Families; and theſe Families will come in time to expect a full reparation from the Crown; or they will take their revenges on it, if that hope fails them: The Commons will grow inſolent upon it, and look on the Gentry as in their dependance: During the War, and while the heat of Parties ferments ſo much, it is not eaſy to find a proper remedy for this. When the War is over, one expedient in the power of the Crown is, to declare that Elections to Parliament ſhall be annual: But, if the ſame heat and rivalry of Parties ſhould ſtill continue, that would ruin Families but ſo much the ſooner.

The

The moſt promiſing Expedient, next to a general reformation, which may ſeem too remote and too hopeleſs a proſpect, is to try how this great diviſion of the Nation into Whig and Tory may be leſſened, if not quite removed: Great numbers on both ſides are drawn, to take up many groundleſs jealouſies one of another, with which Men of honeſt minds are poſſeſſed.

Of the Parties of Whig and Tory.

There are many of the Tories, that without doubt look towards *St. Germains* and *France*; but this is not true of the bulk of their Party. Many Infidels, who hate all Religion and all Churches alike (being only againſt the Church of *England* becauſe it is in poſſeſſion) do join with the Whigs and the Diſſenters, and appear for them; from thence the ill-diſpoſed Tories poſſeſs many of thoſe, who are better minded, with an opinion, that the Whigs favour the Diſſenters, only to ruin and deſtroy Religion; and great multitudes of unthinking and ignorant Men are drawn into this ſnare. The Principles of the Whigs lead them to be for the Revolution, and for every thing that has been done to ſupport and eſtabliſh that; and therefore thoſe who, in their hearts, hate the Revolution, fortify and promote their deſigns, by keeping up a jealouſy of all that Body, which alone can and muſt ſupport it. The Whigs are indeed favoured by the Diſſenters, becauſe they ſee their Principles are for Tole-

ration, in which, it is visible, that the Dissenters acquiesce, without pursuing any design, contrary to the Established Church, into which the far greater number of them might be brought, if but a very few concessions were made them. On the other hand, the Whigs, seeing the Leaders of the Tories drive on ill designs so visibly, (endeavouring to weaken the Government, to disjoint the Alliance, and to put an untimely end to the War, thereby serving the Interests of *France* and of the *Pretender*) and that they are followed in this by the Body of the Tories, who promote their Elections, and adhere to them in all Divisions in the two Houses of Parliament, and are united in one Party with them, from thence conclude, that they are all equally concerned, and alike guilty: And thus they are jealous of them all. This aversion is daily growing, and will certainly continue as long as the War lasts; when that is ended, it may possibly abate: but so great a disease will not be cured, 'till a Prince of Spirit and Authority, managed with temper and discretion, undertakes the cure. We see Oaths and Subscriptions make no discrimination, since the Abjuration, tho' penned as fully as words can go, has been taken by some, who seem resolved to swallow down every thing in order to the throwing up all at once, if they should come to have a clear Majority in Parliament, and durst lay aside the mask.

In

In the Parliament of 1701, called the Impeaching Parliament, and in the firſt Parliament called by the Queen, there was a majority of Tories; yet it appeared, the Men of ill deſigns durſt not venture to diſcover themſelves to their Party and to the Nation; ſo they proceeded with caution. They deſigned in 1701 to have had the Duke of *Anjou* acknowledged, in order to have diſgraced the late King, and his faithfulleſt Miniſters; that ſo the Princes abroad, who could do nothing without aſſiſtance from *England*, deſpairing of that, might be forced to ſubmit to the offers *France* made them. In the firſt year of the Queen's Reign, they durſt make no viſible ſteps that way neither; but they tried to raiſe the heat againſt the Diſſenters, to make a breach on the Toleration, and to give that body of Men ſuch a jealouſy of the Government, as ſhould quite diſhearten them, who were always the readieſt to lend money to the Publick, without which the War could not be carried on vigorouſly. By this it may appear, that many of the Tories have not thoſe views and deſigns, that perhaps ſome of their Leaders may be juſtly charged with. Now a wiſe and an active Prince may find methods, to undeceive thoſe who are thus fatally impoſed on, and led blindfold into the ſerving the ill deſigns of others; eſpecially, if he will propoſe it, as a ſure way to his favour, for all whom he employs, to procure a better underſtanding and fre-

quent meetings, among the Men of good lives & ſoft tempers in both Parties, who by a mutual converſation will ſo open themſelves to one another, that jealouſies may by this means be eaſily removed. I can carry this no further at preſent; Men of good intentions will eaſily find out proper methods to bring about this worthy deſign of healing a breach, that has rent the Nation from top to bottom. The Parties are now ſo ſtated and kept up, not only by the Elections of Parliament-Men that return every third year, but even by the yearly Elections of Mayors and Corporation-Men, that they know their ſtrength; and in every Corner of the Nation, the two Parties ſtand, as it were, liſted againſt one another. This may come in ſome critical time or other, at the death of a Prince, or on an Invaſion, to have terrible effects; as at preſent it creates, among the beſt of each ſide, a coldneſs and a jealouſy, and a great deal of hatred and virulence among the much greater part.

The Correction of our Laws.

There are two things of a very publick nature, that deſerve the care of a Parliament: The one muſt begin in the Houſe of Lords, and the other in the Houſe of Commons. The Law of *England* is the greateſt Grievance of the Nation, very expenſive and dilatory: There is no end of Suits, eſpecially when they are brought into *Chancery*. It is a matter of deep ſtudy, to be exact in the Law; great ad-

advantages are taken, upon inconſiderable Errors; and there are loud complaints of that, which ſeems to be the chief ſecurity of property, I mean Juries, which are ſaid to be much practiſed upon. If a happy Peace gives us quiet, to look to our own affairs, there cannot be a worthier deſign undertaken, than to reduce the Law into method, to digeſt it into a Body, and to regulate the Chancery, ſo as to cut off the tediouſneſs of Suits, and, in a word, to compile one entire Syſtem of our Laws. The work cannot be undertaken, much leſs finiſhed; but by ſo great an authority, as at leaſt an Addreſs from the Houſe of Lords to the Queen. Nothing, after the War is happily ended, can raiſe the Glory of her Reign more, than to ſee ſo noble a deſign ſet on foot in her time: This would make her name ſacred to Poſterity, which would ſenſibly feel all the Taxes, they have raiſed, fully repaid them, if the Law were made ſhorter, clearer, more certain, and of leſs expence.

Proviſions for the Poor.

The other matter, that muſt take its riſe in the Houſe of Commons, is about the Poor, and ſhould be much laid to heart. It may be thought a ſtrange motion from a Biſhop, to wiſh that the Act, for charging every Pariſh to maintain their own poor, were well reviewed, if not quite taken away; this ſeems to encourage idle and lazy people in their ſloth, when they know they muſt be maintained; I know no other place

in the world, where such a Law was ever made. *Scotland* is much the poorest part of the Island, yet the Poor there are maintained by the voluntary Charities of the People: *Holland* is the perfectest pattern, for putting Charity in a good method; the Poor work as much as they can; they are humble and industrious; they never ask any charity; and yet they are well relieved. When the Poor see, that their supply must in a great measure depend on their behaviour and on their industry, as far as it can go, it will both make them better in themselves, and move others to supply them more liberally; and when Mens offerings are free (and yet are called for, every time they go to Church or to Sacrament) this will oblige those, who distribute them, to be exact and impartial in it; since their ill conduct might make the givers trust them with their Charity no more, but distribute it themselves. If a Spirit of true Piety and Charity should ever prevail in this Nation, those, whose condition raises them above the drudgery of servile labour, might employ some years of their life in this labour of love, and relieve one another in their turn, and so distribute among them this noble part of Government. All this must begin in the House of Commons; and I leave it to the consideration of the wise and worthy Members of that Body, to turn their thoughts to this, as soon as by a happy Peace we are delivered from the

ares of the War, and are at leiſure to think of our own affairs at home.

Of ſhorter Seſſions of Parliament

One thing more I preſume to ſuggeſt, which is, that we may have fewer and ſhorter Seſſions of Parliament; the ſtaying long in Town both waſtes Eſtates, and corrupts the morals of Members; their beginning ſo late in the day to enter upon buſineſs is one great occaſion of long Seſſions; they are ſeldom met, 'till about twelve a-clock; and except on a day, in which ſome great points are to be diſcuſſed, upon which the Parties divide, they grow diſpoſed to riſe after two or three hours ſitting. The Authority of the Prince muſt be interpoſed to make them return to the old hours of eight and nine; and if, from that time, they ſate till two, a great deal of buſineſs might be diſpatched in a ſhort Seſſion. It is alſo to be hoped that, when the War is ended, Parliaments will not give the neceſſary Supplies from year to year, as in the time of War, but will ſettle methods for paying the Publick debt, and for the ſupport of the Government, for two, if not for three years. The ill effects of an annual Meeting of Parliament are ſo viſible and ſo great, that I hope nothing but invincible neceſſity will ever keep us under the continuance of ſo great an inconvenience. I ſpeak of this with the more concern, becauſe this is not only a great Charge on Biſhops, heavy on the richer, and intolerable to the poorer Biſhopricks; but chiefly, becauſe it calls them away from

their Dioceſſes, & from minding their proper work, and fills their heads too much with ſecular thoughts, & obliges them to mix too much with ſecular company; from which the more abſtracted they are, as their minds will be purer and freer, ſo they will be able to follow their own buſineſs with leſs diſtraction, in a more conſtant attendance on the Miniſtry of the Word and Prayer, to which, in imitation of the Apoſtles, they ought to give themſelves continually.

I have now gone over what ſeemed to me moſt practicable, as well as moſt important, for all ranks of Men ſeverally in the Nation, as well as for that great union of them all, in the Repreſentative of the whole in Parliament: I have not gone into wild notions of an imaginary Reformation, more to be wiſhed than hoped for; but have only touched on ſuch ill practices, and bad diſpoſitions, as with a little care and good government may be in ſome meaſure redreſſed and corrected. And now, having by all theſe, as by ſo many ſteps, riſen up to the Throne, I will end this Addreſs to the Nation, with an humble Repreſentation to thoſe, who are to ſit on it.

An Addreſs to our Princes.

I have had the honour to be admitted to much free converſation, with five of our Sovereigns; King *Charles* the Second, King *James* the Second, King *William* the Third, Queen *Mary*, and Queen *Anne*. King *Charles*'s behaviour was a thing never enough to be commended; he was a perfectly

fectly well-bred Man, eaſy of acceſs, free in his diſcourſe, and ſweet in his whole deportment; this was managed with great art, and it covered bad deſigns; it was of ſuch uſe to him, that it may teach all ſucceeding Princes, of what advantage an eaſines of acceſs and an obliging behaviour may be. This preſerved him; it often diſarmed thoſe Reſentments, which his ill conduct in every thing, both publick and private, poſſeſſed all thinking People with very early, and all ſorts of People at laſt: and yet none could go to him, but they were in a great meaſure ſoftned, before they left him: it looked like a Charm, that could hardly be reſiſted: Yet there was no good-nature under that, nor was there any truth in him. King *James* had great application to buſineſs, tho' without a right underſtanding: that application gave him a Reputation, till he took care to throw it off: If he had not come after King *Charles*, he would have paſt for a Prince of a ſweet temper, and eaſy of acceſs. King *William* was the reverſe of all this; he was ſcarce acceſſible, and was always cold and ſilent; he minded affairs abroad ſo much, and was ſo ſet on the War, that he ſcarce thought of his Government at home: This raiſed a general diſguſt, which was improved by Men of ill deſigns, ſo that it perplexed all his affairs, and he could ſcarce ſupport himſelf at home, whilſt he was the admiration of all abroad. Queen *Mary*

was affable, cheerful and lively, ſpoke much, and yet under great reſerves, minded buſineſs, and came to underſtand it well; ſhe kept cloſe to Rules, chiefly to thoſe ſet her by the King; and ſhe charmed all that came near her. Queen *Anne* is eaſy of acceſs, and hears every thing very gently; but opens herſelf to ſo few, and is ſo cold and general in her anſwers, that People ſoon find that the chief application is to be made to her Miniſters and Favourites, who in their turns have an entire credit and full power with her: She has laid down the Splendor of a Court too much, and eats privately; ſo that except on Sundays, and a few hours, twice or thrice a week at night in the Drawing Room, ſhe appears ſo little, that her Court is as it were abandoned. Out of all theſe Princes conduct, and from their ſucceſſes in their affairs, it is evident what ought to be the meaſures of a wiſe and good Prince, who would govern the Nation happily and glorioufly.

The firſt, the moſt eſſential, and moſt indiſpenſable Rule for a King is, to ſtudy the Intereſt of the Nation, to be ever in it and to be always purſuing it; this will lay in for him ſuch a degree of confidence, that he will be ever ſafe with his People, when they feel they are ſafe in him. No part of our Story ſhews this more viſibly, than Queen *Elizabeth*'s Reign, in which the true Intereſt of the Nation was conſtantly purſued; and this

was

was ſo well underſtood by all, that every thing elſe was forgiven her and her Miniſters both. Sir *Simon Dewe*'s Journal ſhews a treatment of Parliaments, that could not have been born a any other time, or under any other Adminiſtration: This was the conſtant ſupport of King *William*'s Reign, and continues to ſupport the preſent Reign, as it will ſupport all who adhere ſteadily to it.

A Prince, that would command the affections and purſes of this Nation, muſt not ſtudy to ſtretch his Prerogative, or be uneaſy under the reſtraints of Law; as ſoon as this humour ſhews itſelf, he muſt expect, that a jealouſy of him, and an uneaſy oppoſition to him, will follow thro' the whole courſe of his Reign; whereas if he governs well, Parliaments will truſt him, as much as a wiſe Prince would deſire to be truſted; and will ſupply him in every War that is neceſſary, either for their own preſervation, or the preſervation of thoſe Allies, with whom mutual Intereſts and Leagues unite him: But tho', ſoon after the Reſtoration, a ſlaviſh Parliament ſupported King *Charles* in the *Dutch* War, yet the Nation muſt be ſtrangely changed, before any thing of that ſort can happen again.

One of the moſt deteſtable and the fooliſheſt Maxims, with relation to our Government, is to keep up Parties and a rivalry among them; to ſhift and change Miniſters,

and

and to go from one Party to another, as they can be brought in their turns to offer the Prince more money, or to give him more authority: this will in concluſion render him odious and contemptible to all Parties, who growing accuſtomed to his fickleneſs will never truſt him, but rather ſtudy to ſecure themſelves, by depreſſing him; of which the Reign of *Henry* the Third of *France* is a ſignal inſtance. We ſaw what effects this had on King *Charles*'s Reign; and King *William* felt what an ill ſtep he had made, near the end of his Reign, in purſuing this Maxim. Nothing creates to a Prince ſuch a Confidence, as a conſtant and clear firmneſs and ſteadineſs of Government, with an unblemiſhed integrity in all his profeſſions: and nothing will create a more univerſal dependance on him, than when it is viſible, he ſtudies to allay the heats of Parties, and to reconcile them to one another: This will demonſtrate, that he loves his People, and that he has no ill deſigns of his own.

A Prince, who would be well ſerved, ought to ſeek out among his Subjects the beſt and moſt capable of the Youth, and ſee to their good education at home and abroad; he ſhould ſend them to travel, and order his Miniſters abroad to keep ſuch for ſome time about them, and to ſend them from Court to Court, to learn their languages, and obſerve their tempers: if but twelve

twelve ſuch were conſtantly kept, on an Allowance of 250 *l.* a-year, the whole expence of this would riſe but to 3000 *l.* a-year: By this in conſiderable charge, a Prince might have a conſtant Nurſery for a wiſe and able Miniſtry. But thoſe ought to be well choſen; none ought to pretend to the nomination; it ought to riſe from the motion, of the honeſteſt & moſt deſintereſted of all his Miniſters, to the Prince in ſecret. As great a care ought to be had, in the nomination of the Chaplains of his Miniſters abroad, that there may be a breed of worthy Clergymen, who have large thoughts and great notions, from a more enlarged view of Mankind and of the World. If a Prince would have all that ſerve him grateful and true to him, he muſt ſtudy to find out, who are the propereſt and worthieſt Men, capable of Employments, and prevent their applications, and ſurpriſe them with beſtowing good Poſts unſought, and raiſing them higher, as they ſerve well. When it is known, that a Prince has made it his maxim, to follow this method in diſtributing his favours, he will cut off applications for them; which will otherwiſe create a great uneaſineſs to him, and have this certain ill effect, that where there are many Pretenders, one muſt have the preference to all the reſt; ſo that many are mortified for being rejected, and are full of envy at him, who has obtained the favour, and therefore will detract from him

as

as much as poſſible. This has no where worſe effects than among the Clergy, in the diſpoſal of the Dignities of the Church: And therefore Queen *Mary* reſolved to break thoſe aſpirings; which Reſolution ſhe carried on effectually for ſome years. A conſtant purſuing that maxim would have a great effect on the Nation.

Frequent Progreſſes round the Nation, ſo divided, that once in ſeven, eight or ten years, the chief Places of it might be gone thro', would recommend a Prince wonderfully to the People; eſpecially if he were gentle and affable, and would ſo manage his Progreſs, that it ſhould not be a charge to any, by refuſing to accept of entertainments, from any perſon whatſoever: for the accepting theſe only from ſuch, as could eaſily bear the charge of it, would be an affronting of others, who being of equal Rank, though not of equal Eſtates, would likewiſe deſire to treat the Prince. So to make a Progreſs every where acceptable, and no where chargeable, the ſure method would be, according to the eſtabliſhed rule of the Houſehold, for the Prince to carry the travelling Wardrobe with him, and to take ſuch Houſes in the way, as are moſt convenient for him; but to entertain himſelf and his Court there, and have a variety of Tables for ſuch as may come to attend on him. On this Q. *Mary* had ſet her heart, if ſhe had lived to ſee Peace in her days; by this means a

Prince

Prince may ſee and be ſeen by his People; he may know ſome Men, that deſerve to be diſtinguiſhed, of whom otherwiſe he would never have heard; and he may learn and redreſs the Grievances of his People, preventing all Parliamentary complaints, except for ſuch matters as cannot be cured, but by a Remedy in Parliament. Methods like theſe would make a Prince become the Idol of his People.

It is certain that their affections muſt follow a Prince, who would conſider Government and the Royal dignity as his Calling, and would be daily employed in it, ſtudying the good and happineſs of his People, purſuing the propereſt ways for promoting it, without either delivering himſelf up to the Sloth of Luxury and vain Magnificence, or affecting the Barbarity of War and Conqueſt; which render thoſe, who make the World a Scene of blood and rapine, indeed the Butchers of Mankind. If theſe words ſeem not decent enough, I will make no other apology, but that I uſe them, becauſe I cannot find worſe: For as they are the worſt of Men, ſo they deſerve the worſt of language. Can it be thought that Princes are raiſed to the higheſt pitch of Glory and Wealth, on deſign to corrupt their minds with Pride and Contempt of the reſt of Mankind, as if they were made only to be the inſtruments of their extravagancies, or the ſubjects of their Paſſions and Humours? No! they are exalted for the

good

good of their Fellow-Creatures, in order to raiſe them to the trueſt ſublimity, to become as like Divinity, as a mortal Creature is capable of being. None will grudge them their great Treaſures and Authority, when they ſee it is all employed to make their People happy. None will envy their greatneſs, when they ſee it accompanied with a ſuitable greatneſs of Soul, whereas a magnified and flattered Pageant will ſoon fall under univerſal contempt and hatred. There is not any one thing more certain and more evident, than that Princes are made for the People, and not the People for them; and perhaps there is no Nation under Heaven, that is more entirely poſſeſſed with this Notion of Princes, than the *Engliſh* Nation is in this Age; ſo that they will ſoon be uneaſy to a Prince, who does not govern himſelf by this maxim, and in time grow very unkind to him.

Great care ought to be taken, in the nomination of Judges and Biſhops. I join theſe together; for Law and Religion, Juſtice and Piety, are the Support of Nations, and give ſtrength and ſecurity to Governments. Judges muſt be recommended by thoſe in the high poſts of the Law; but a Prince may, by his own taſte and upon knowledge, chooſe his Biſhops. They ought to be Men eminent for Piety, Learning, Diſcretion and Zeal: not broken with age, which will quickly render them incapable of ſerving the Church

Church, to any good purpoſe: A perſon fit to be a Biſhop at ſixty, was fit at forty; and had then ſpirit and activity, with a greater ſtrength both of body and mind. The vaſt expence they are at, in entering on their Biſhopricks, ought to be regulated: No Biſhopricks can be, in any good degree, ſerved under 1000*l.* a-year at leaſt. The Judges ought to be plentifully provided for, that they may be under no temptation to ſupply themſelves by indirect ways: One part of a Prince's care, to be recommended to Judges in their Circuits, is to know what Perſons are, as it were, hid in the Nation, that are fit for employments, and deſerve to be encouraged; of ſuch, they ought to give an account to the Lord Chancellor, who ought to lay it before the Throne. No crime ought to be pardoned, till the Judge who gave Sentence is heard, to give an account of the Evidence, with the circumſtances of the fact, as it appeared on the Trial: no regard ought to be had to ſtories that are told, to move compaſſion; for in theſe, little regard is had to truth: And an eaſineſs in pardoning is, in ſome ſort, an encouraging of crimes, and a giving licence to commit them.

But to run out no longer into particulars, the great and comprehenſive Rule of all is, that a King ſhould conſider himſelf, as exalted by almighty God into that high dignity, as into a capacity of doing much good, and of being a great bleſſing to

Mankind, and in ſome ſort a God on Earth; and therefore, as he expects, that his Miniſters ſhould ſtudy to advance his ſervice, his intereſts and his glory; and that, ſo much the more, as he raiſes them to higher Poſts of favour and honour; ſo he, whom God has raiſed to the greateſt exaltation, this World is capable of, ſhould apply himſelf wholly to cares, becoming his rank and ſtation, to be in himſelf a pattern of Virtue and true Religion, to promote Juſtice, to relieve and revenge the oppreſſed, and to ſeek out Men of Virtue and Piety, and bring them into ſuch degrees of confidence, as they may be capable of; to encourage a due and a generous freedom in their advices, to be ready to ſee his own errours, that he may correct them, and to entertain every thing, that is ſuggeſted to him, for the good of his People, and for the benefit of Mankind; and to make a difference between thoſe, who court his favour for their own ends, who ſtudy to flatter and by that to pleaſe him, often to his own ruin, and thoſe who have great views and noble aims, who ſet him on to purſue deſigns worthy of him, without mean or partial regards to any ends or intereſts of their own. It is not enough for a Prince, not, to encourage Vice or Impiety, by his own ill practices; it ought to appear, that theſe are odious to him, and that they give him horrour: A declaration of this kind, ſolemnly made and

ſtea-

ſteadily purſued, would ſoon bring on at leaſt an exteriour Reformation, which would have a great effect on the body of the Nation, and on the riſing Generation, though it were but hypocritically put on at firſt. Such a Prince would be perhaps too great a Bleſſing to a wicked World: Queen *Mary* ſeemed to have the ſeeds of all this in her; but the World was not worthy of her: And ſo God took her from it.

I will conclude this whole Addreſs to Poſterity with that, which is the moſt important of all other things, and which alone will carry every thing elſe along with it; which is to recommend, in the moſt ſolemn and ſerious manner, the ſtudy and practice of Religion to all ſorts of Men, as that which is both *the Light of the World*, and *the Salt of the Earth*. Nothing does ſo open our Faculties, and compoſe and direct the whole Man, as an inward ſenſe of God, of his authority over us, of the Laws he has ſet us, of his eye ever upon us, of his hearing our Prayers, aſſiſting our endeavours, watching over our concerns, and of his being to judge and to reward or puniſh us in another ſtate, according to what we do in this: Nothing will give a Man ſuch a deſtation of Sin, and ſuch a ſenſe of the goodneſs of God, and of our obligations to Holineſs, as a right underſtanding and a firm belief of the Chriſtian Religion: Nothing can give a Man ſo calm a peace

An Exhortation to all to become truly Religious.

within, and ſuch a firm ſecurity againſt all fears and dangers without, as the belief of a kind and wiſe Providence, and of a future State. An integrity of heart gives a Man a courage, and a confidence that cannot be ſhaken: A Man is ſure that, by living according to the rules of Religion, he becomes the wiſeſt, the beſt and happieſt creature, that he is capable of being. Honeſt induſtry, the employing his time well, and a conſtant ſobriety, an undefiled purity and chaſtity, with a quiet ſerenity, are the beſt preſervers of life and health: So that, take a Man as a ſingle individual, Religion is his Guard, his perfection, his beauty, and his glory: This will make him *the Light of the World*, ſhining brightly, and enlightening many round about him. Then take a Man as a piece of Mankind, as a Citizen of the World, or of any particular State, Religion is indeed *then the Salt of the Earth*: For it makes every Man to be to all the reſt of the World, whatſoever any one can with reaſon wiſh or deſire him to be. He is true, juſt, honeſt and faithful in the whole commerce of life, doing to all others, that which he would have others do to him: He is a Lover of Mankind, and of his Country: He may and ought to love ſome more than others; but he has an extent of Love to all, of pity and compaſſion, not only to the pooreſt, but to the worſt; for the worſe any are, they are the more to be pitied. He has a complacency

placency and delight in all that are truely, tho' but defectively good, and a reſpect and veneration for all that are eminently ſo: He mourns for the Sins, and rejoices in the Virtues of all that are round about him: In every relation of life, Religion makes him anſwer all his obligations: It will make Princes juſt and good, faithful to their promiſes, and Lovers of their People: It will inſpire Subjects with reſpect, ſubmiſſion, obedience and zeal for their Prince: It will ſanctify wedlock to be a ſtate of Chriſtian friendſhip, and mutual aſſiſtance: It will give Parents the trueſt Love to their Children, with a proper care of their education: It will command the returns of gratitude and obedience from Children: It will teach Maſters to be gentle and careful of their Servants, and Servants, to be faithful, zealous, and diligent in their Maſter's concerns: It will make Friends tender and true to one another; it will make them generous, faithful and diſintereſted: It will make Men live in their neighbourhood, as members of one common Body, promoting firſt the general good of the whole, and then the good of every particular, as far as a Man's ſphere can go: It will make Judges and Magiſtrates juſt and patient, hating covetouſneſs, and maintaining peace and order, without eſpect of Perſons: It will make People live in ſo inoffenſive a manner, that it will be eaſy to maintain Juſtice, whilſt Men are not diſpoſed to

give disturbance to those about them. This will make Bishops and Pastors faithful to their trust, tender to their People, and watchful over them; and it will beget in the People an esteem for their Persons, and their Functions.

Thus Religion, if truely received and sincerely adhered to, would prove the greatest of all blessings to a Nation. But by Religion, I understand somewhat more than the receiving some doctrines, tho' ever so true, or the professing them, and engaging to support them, not without zeal and eagerness. What signify the best Doctrines, if Men do not live suitably to them; if they have not a due influence upon their thoughts, their principles, and their lives? Men of bad lives, with sound opinions, are self condemned, and lie under a highly aggravated guilt; nor will the heat of a Party, arising out of interest, and managed with fury and violence, compensate for the ill lives of such false pretenders to zeal; while they are a disgrace to that, which they profess and seem so hot for. By Religion I do not mean, an outward compliance with Forms and Customs, in going to Church, to Prayers, to Sermons and to Sacraments, with an external shew of Devotion, or, which is more, with some inward forced good thoughts, in which many may satisfy themselves, while this has no visible effect on their lives, nor any inward force to subdue and rectify their appetites, passions and secret de-

deſigns. Thoſe cuſtomary performances, how good and uſeful ſoever, when well underſtood and rightly directed, are of little value, when Men reſt on them, and think that, becauſe they do them, they have therefore acquitted themſelves of their duty, tho' they continue ſtill proud, covetous, full of deceit, envy and malice; Even ſecret prayer, the moſt effectuaof all other means, is deſigned for a higher end, which is to poſſeſs our minds with ſuch a conſtant and preſent ſenſe of Divine Truths, as may make theſe live in us, and govern us; and may draw down ſuch aſſiſtances, as may exalt and ſanctify our natures.

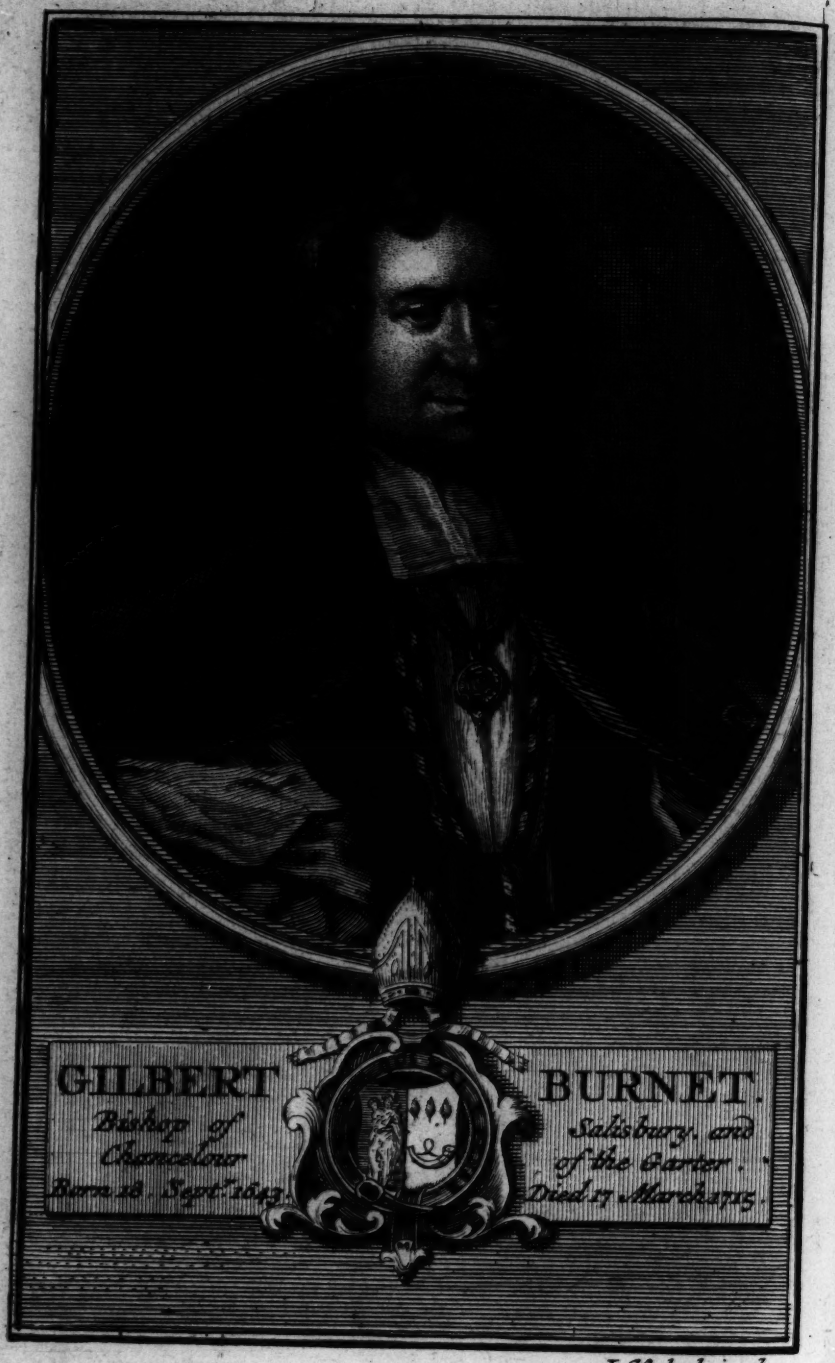
So that by Religion I mean, ſuch a ſenſe of divine Truth, as enters into a Man, and becomes a ſpring of a new Nature within him; reforming his thoughts and deſigns, purifying his heart, and ſanctifying him, and governing his whole deportment, his words as well as his actions; convincing him that, it is not enough, not to be ſcandalouſly vicious, or to be innocent in his converſation, but that he muſt be entirely, uniformly and conſtantly pure and vertuous; animating him with a zeal, to be ſtill better and better, more eminently good and exemplary, uſing Prayers and all outward Devotions, as ſolemn Acts teſtifying what he is inwardly and at heart, and as methods inſtituted by God, to be ſtill advancing in the uſe of them further and further, into a more refi-

ned and ſpiritual ſenſe of divine matters. This is true Religion, which is the perfection of Human Nature, and the joy and delight of every one, that feels it active and ſtrong within him; it is true, this is not arrived at all at once; and it will have an unhappy allay, hanging long even about a good Man: But, as thoſe ill mixtures are the perpetual grief of his ſoul, ſo it is his chief care to watch over and to mortify them; he will be in a continual progreſs, ſtill gaining ground upon himſelf: And, as he attains to a good degree of purity, he will find a noble flame of life and joy growing upon him. Of this I write with the more concern and emotion, becauſe I have felt this the true and indeed the only joy, which runs thro' a Man's Heart and Life: It is that which has been for many years my greateſt ſupport; I rejoice daily in it; I feel from it the earneſt of that ſupreme joy, which I pant and long for: I am ſure there is nothing elſe can afford any true or compleat happineſs. I have, conſidering my ſphere, ſeen a great deal of all, that is moſt ſhining and tempting in this World: The pleaſures of ſenſe I did ſoon nauſeate; Intrigues of State, and the conduct of Affairs have ſomething in them, that is more ſpecious; and I was, for ſome years, deeply immerſed in theſe, but ſtill with hopes of reforming the World, and of making Mankind wiſer and better: But I have found, *That which is crooked cannot be made ſtraight.*

I acquainted my ſelf with Knowledge and Learning, and that in a great variety, and with more compaſs than depth: But tho' *Wiſdom excelleth Folly, as much as Light does Darkneſs*; yet, as it is a *ſore travail*, ſo it is ſo very defective, that what is *wanting* to compleat it, *cannot be numbered*. I have ſeen that *two were better than one*, and that a *threefold cord is not eaſily looſed*; and have therefore cultivated Friendſhip with much zeal and a diſintereſted tenderneſs; but I have found this was alſo vanity and vexation of Spirit, tho' it be of the beſt and nobleſt ſort. So that, upon great and long experience, I could enlarge on the Preacher's Text, *Vanity of Vanities, and all is Vanity*; but I muſt alſo conclude with him; *Fear God, and keep his Commandments, for this is the all of Man*, the whole both of his Duty, and of his Happineſs. I do therefore end all, in the words of *David*, of the truth of which, upon great experience and a long obſervation, I am ſo fully aſſured, that I leave theſe as my laſt words to Poſterity: „ *Come ye Children, hear-*
„ *ken unto me; I will teach you the Fear*
„ *of the Lord; what Man is he that deſireth*
„ *Life, and loveth many days, that he may*
„ *ſee Good; keep thy Tongue from Evil, and*
„ *thy Lips from ſpeaking Guile; depart from*
„ *Evil, and do Good, ſeek Peace and pur-*
„ *ſue it. The Eyes of the Lord are upon*
„ *the Righteous, and his Ears are open*
„ *to their Cry; but the Face of the*
„ *Lord is againſt them that do Evil, to cut*

" off the Remembrance of them, from the " Earth. The Righteous cry, and the Lord " heareth and delivereth them out of all their " Troubles. The Lord is nigh unto them, " that are of a broken Heart, and saveth such " as be of a contrite Spirit."

BRITISH
6 JA 76
MUSEUM



J. Houbraken sculp.

22

THE LIFE OF THE AUTHOR:

By the EDITOR

THOMAS BURNET, Esq;

IT were to be wished, that the Author himself had lived to have compleated his whole Design, and as he made *Thuanus* his Pattern in History, like him to have closed his Work with an account of his own Life: That he intended so to have done, is evident both from his last Will, and from a rough draught or imperfect sketch of this nature, left behind him. He acted so considerable a part in the World, in so many different stations; he met with so large a share of favour from some, and so much censure from others; and in a life, where the

the ſcenes were ſo various, there muſt be ſo many occurrences, which will be both uſeful and entertaining; that I feared the Publick would ſcarce forgive me, as an Editor, if I ſhould not endeavour to ſupply this only part of the Author's Plan, which he himſelf did not live to execute. Tho' the producing Authorities for the ſeveral facts, aſſerted in the following ſheets, might perhaps have exempted a Writer from future cavils: yet the inſerting Vouchers for every Particular *, would have rendred a Work of this nature both dry and tedious; I have only done, it, where the matter related ſeemed very eſſential, and the original Papers themſelves might prove an agreeable entertainment. I have carefully avoided repeating all thoſe parts of the Author's Life, which are already related in the *Hiſtory of his own Time*: They are only tranſiently mentioned here, ſo as to continue the thread of my narration, and the Reader is referred, for farther information, to the Hiſtory itſelf.

The Author's Birth and Parentage.

Our Author, Dr. GILBERT BURNET, was born at *Edinburgh* on the eighteenth day of *September* in the year 1643. His Father was the younger Brother of a Family, very conſiderable for its antiquity as well as

* Thoſe facts for which no voucher is alledged, are taken from the Biſhop's Manuſcript notes of his own life. And can be further ſupported by other teſtimonies, if occaſion ſhould require.

as intereſt, in the Shire of *Aberdeen*; and was bred to the Civil Law, which he ſtudied for ſeven years in *France*. His exceſſive modeſty ſo far depreſs'd his abilities, that he never made a ſhining figure at the Bar, tho' he was univerſally eſteemed a Man of judgment and knowledge in his profeſſion; he was eminent for probity and generoſity in his practice; inſomuch that near one half of it went in acts of Charity and Friendſhip: From the Poor he never took a fee, nor from a Clergyman, when he ſued in the right of his Church. In the year 1637, when the Troubles in *Scotland* were breaking out, he was ſo diſguſted at the conduct of the governing Biſhops there, he cenſured them with ſo much warmth, and was, at the ſame time, ſo remarkable for his ſtrict and exemplary life, that he was generally called a *Puritan:* But when he ſaw, that inſtead of reforming abuſes in the Epiſcopal Order, the Order itſelf was ſtruck at, he adhered to it with great zeal and conſtancy: as he did to the Rights of the Crown, without once complying with that Party, which afterwards prevailed in both Nations. For tho' he agreed with *Barclay* and *Grotius* (with the latter of whom he had been intimately acquainted) as to their notions of Reſiſtance, where the Laws are broke through by a limited Sovereign; yet he did not think that was then the caſe in *Scotland*.

Our

Our Author's Mother was very eminent for her Piety and Virtue; ſhe was a warm zealot for the Presbyterian diſcipline; her education that way had been very ſtrict; ſhe was Siſter to the famous Sir *Archibald Johnſtoun*, called Lord *Warriſtoun*, who, during the Civil Wars, was at the head of the Presbyterians; and was too often hurried away, by his attachment to them, into exceſſes that were not ſuitable to his natural temper; which was juſt, generous and ſelf-denying: Inſomuch that he left behind him but a very ſmall proviſion, for a Family of thirteen Children, though for many years he had been entruſted with the whole Government of *Scotland*. He was ſo zealous in the intereſts of his Party that neither Friendſhip nor Alliance could diſpoſe him, to ſhew favour to thoſe, who refuſed the ſolemn League and Covenant. Our Author's Father therefore, perſiſting in this refuſal, at three ſeveral times was obliged to quit the Kingdom, and at one of them to remain an Exile for five years: And, when his return was afterwards connived at, as his principles would not permit him to renew the practice of the Law, much leſs to accept of the preferments in it, offered him by *Oliver Cromwell*, he lived retired in the Country upon his own Eſtate, till the Reſtoration; when he was made one of the Lords of the Seſſion.

His Education.

His Father's retirement from buſineſs proved a conſiderable advantage to our Au-

Author's Education, which was wholly under his care, and ſo managed by him, that at ten years old his Son was Maſter of the *Latin* tongue: he was ſent at that age to the College of *Aberdeen*, where he perfected himſelf in *Greek*, and went through the common methods of the *Ariſtotelian* Logick and Philoſophy with applauſe; he commenced Maſter of Arts before he was fourteen, and then applied himſelf to the Law, much to the regret of his Father, who had always deſigned him for a Clergyman. He continued ſtudying the *Civil* and *Feudal* Law for above a year, by which he laid in ſuch true notions of Society and Government, as are ſeldom found amongſt Divines; he then changed his reſolution, and determined wholly to dedicate himſelf to the Church: Thereupon he purſued a very hard courſe of Study; he went through the old and new Teſtament, with all the ſeveral Commentaries upon the different parts of it, then in repute; he examined into the moſt noted Authors in Controverſy, and read *Bellarmine* and *Chamier*, in oppoſition to each other, quite through; he peruſed ſome of the moſt received Syſtems of School-Divinity, but was ſoon diſguſted at the ſubtlety of thoſe Writers, and readily obſerved, how little all their diſputes, which the jargon of the Schools rendred endleſs, could tend towards making Men wiſer or better. In his hours of amuſement, he ran through many volumes of Hiſtory:

And

And it is ſcarce conceivable, what a progreſs he had made in theſe Studies, before he was eighteen, by an application, which ſeldom fell ſhort of fourteen hours in a day.

He is admitted as a Probationer.

At that age, he was put upon his Trial, as a Probationer or Expectant Preacher; who, after having paſs'd Examination, is at liberty to preach whereſoever he is deſired, but has no particular Church, to which he is attendant. This is the firſt ſtep in *Scotland*, towards an admiſſion into Orders, and was practiſed both under the Epiſcopal and Presbyterian Oeconomy. The method obſerved in it has ſomething ſo different from what is cuſtomary in *England*, that it may perhaps be worthy the Reader's notice. Theſe Probationers are firſt appointed to preach practically on a Text aſſigned them; next, critically upon another, the ſenſe of which is controverted; and then a mix'd Sermon, of Criticiſm on the Text, and practical inferences from it, is expected from them. After this the Examiners allot a head of Divinity to each, on which they are to make a *Latin* Oration, and to give out *Theſes* upon it, which they undertake to defend in publick: Then a *Hebrew* Pſalm and a portion of the *Greek* Teſtament is given them, to render into *Engliſh extempore*; and laſt of all comes the Queſtionary Trial, in which every Miniſter of the Diſtrict is at liberty to put ſuch Queſtions to the Perſon under Examination, as oc-

occur to him, out of the Scripture or Body of Divinity. Before any one can be admitted to this, he must produce a Testimonial of his good Life from the Minister of the Parish where he lives; and if during his Trial, which lasts for three Months, any scandal can be proved upon him, he is laid aside as unfit for the Church.

This Probation our Author went through, at the Age of Eighteen; about which time his Father was made a *Lord* of the *Session*, and his Cousin German, Sir *Alexander Burnet*, gave him the Presentation to a very good Benefice, where his Family resided, and which lay in the center of all his kindred. There is no Law in *Scotland*, that limits the Age a Minister must be of; but our Author thought his own so unfit for a Cure of Souls, that he absolutely refused to accept of it, notwithstanding the repeated importunities of all his Relations, except his Father, who left him wholly to his own discretion. Refuses a Presentation to a Living.

In the year 1661, his Father died; and soon after his Brother *Robert*, who was then become very eminent at the Bar, as his other Brother *Thomas* was afterwards in Physick: Upon the occasion of his Brother's death, our Author was much sollicited, by his Mother's Relations, to return to his former Study of the Law, wherein he was assured of the greatest encouragement; but he persisted in his former Resolution, of devoting his Life to the Service of the Church, in which he was confirmed by Mr. *Nairn*, Minister of His Father's Death, and his further pursuit of his Studies.

the Abbey Church at *Edinburgh*. Mr. *Nairn* was then the admired Preacher of that Country, remarkable for accuracy of Style, as well as ſtrength of reaſoning and Sublimeneſs of thought: Him our Author purpoſed to make his Pattern, in this branch of the Paſtoral Office; and was not a little ſurprized to find, that he always preached *extempore*. For though all Sermons in *Scotland* were delivered without book, yet were they premeditated Diſcourſes, firſt written and then learn'd by heart; which was a loſs of time Mr. *Nairn* could not ſubmit to, and he ſoon put our Author upon attempting the ſame method of Preaching, which he continued to practiſe all the reſt of his Life *. He attained to an eaſineſs in it, chiefly by allotting many hours of the day to Meditation upon all ſorts of ſubjects, and by accuſtoming himſelf, at thoſe times, to

* I ſhall only mention two remarkable inſtances in relation to his preaching without Book. In 1691, when the Sees, vacant by the Deprivation of the Nonjuring Biſhops, were filled up, Biſhop *Williams* was appointed to preach one of the Conſecration Sermons at *Bow*-Church. But being detained by ſome Accident, the Clerk had twice ſet the Pſalm, and ſtill the Preacher did not appear. Whereupon the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* deſired Dr. *Burnet*, then Biſhop of *Sarum*, to ſupply his place, which he did; and as the Archbiſhop declared, gave them the beſt Sermon he ever heard him preach. In 1705, he was appointed to preach the Thankſgiving Sermon before the Queen at *St. Paul's*; and as it was the only Diſcourſe he had ever wrote beforehand, ſo this was the only time that he was ever at a pauſe in Preaching, which on that occaſion laſted for above a Minute. Theſe two incidents were ſo publickly known and ſpoke of, that I think it needleſs to alledge any particular Authority for them, unleſs they ſhould be queſtioned.

to ſpeak his thoughts aloud, ſtuyding always to render his expreſſion correct. Mr. *Nairn* led him likewiſe into a new courſe of reading, by recommending to his peruſal *Smith*'s *Select Diſcourſes*, Dr, *More*'s *Works*, and the Writings of *Plato* and his Followers; but no Book pleaſed him more than *Hooker*'s *Eccleſiaſtical Polity*, from the Principles of which he never departed.

In the Year 1662, the *Scotch* Biſhops, who had been conſecrated at *Weſtminſter*, made a pompous Entry into *Edinburgh*, and, by the pride of their firſt Appearance, gave no good omen of their future Conduct. Biſhop *Leightoun*, though one of their number, would have no ſhare in the State they took upon them, on this occaſion: He ſoon became acquainted with our Author's growing Fame, and as he conceived a great affection for him, he took a peculiar pleaſure in overlooking his Studies. By his advice, he became converſant with all the Primitive Writers, going through the Apologys and other Treatiſes of the Fathers of three firſt Centuries, and *Binnius*'s Collection of Councils, down to the ſecond Council of *Nice*.

At the ſame time, our Author contracted an intimacy with another eminent Divine, Mr. *Charteris*, a Man of great prudence, joined to an unaffected ſimplicity of behaviour: He was not only very knowing in his own profeſſion, but was likewiſe a great Maſter of Hiſtory, both antient and

modern, of Geography and Books of Travels, and not a little skilled in Mathematical Learning. Theſe three Perſons, by their converſation and advice, ſo contributed towards finiſhing an Education, which had been ſo happily begun. And indeed, what might not be expected from ſuch early helps, where Nature had laid in materials, ſo fit to be wrought upon? For there was a robuſt Conſtitution, capable of the hardeſt labour and ſtudy, an Apprehenſion that took things quickly, and a Memory that retained them long, an Imagination rather too lively, and a natural fluency of expreſſion.

His Journey to *England.*

In the Year 1663, our Author took a ſhort tour into *England*: He firſt viſited the two Univerſities; at *Cambridge*, he had an opportunity to know and admire the extenſive Learning of Dr. *Cudworth*, the Judgment and Moderation of Dr. *Pearſon*, the fine luxuriant Imagination of Dr. *Burnet* (Author of the Theory) and the Free-thinking of Dr. *Henry More*, one of whoſe Sayings, with relation to Rites and Ceremonies, then made great impreſſion on him; *None of theſe*, ſaid he, *are bad enough to make Men bad, and I am ſure none of them are good enough to make Men good.* At *Oxford* our Author was much careſs'd, on account of his ready Knowledge of the Councils and Fathers, eſpecially by Dr. *Fell*, and Dr. *Pocock*, that great Maſter of oriental Learning; he was much improved there in his Mathematicks

ticks and Philoſophy by the Inſtructions of Dr. *Wallis*, who likewiſe gave him a Letter of recommendation to the Learned and Pious Mr. *Boyle* at *London*. Upon his arrival there, he was introduced to all the moſt noted Divines, ſuch as *Tillotſon*, *Stillingfleet*, *Patrick*, *Lloyd*, *Whitchcot* and *Wilkins*, whoſe Characters are faithfully drawn by him in the Hiſtory. But no converſation proved a greater advantage to him, than that of Sir *Robert Murray*, not only as he brought him into the beſt company, but as he alſo acted the part of a faithful Monitor, in reproving him for any errors or indiſcretions, his youth might betray him into. After a ſtay in *England* of about ſix months, which, being ſpent in the manner I have mentioned, could not but be highly uſeful, he returned to *Scotland*, where he was again preſs'd to enter into Orders, and accept of one of the beſt Benefices in the Weſt.

Sir *Robert Fletcher* of *Saltoun*, who during his ſtay at *Paris*, had received many obligations from his Father, hearing ſo great a Character of the Son, invited him down to his Seat, and had no ſooner heard him preach, than he offered him that Church, the Miniſter of it being nominated to one of the vacant Biſhopricks. Our Author would have excuſed himſelf, as having determined for ſome months to travel beyond ſea; and ſolicited the Living for his Friend Mr. *Nairn*: but Sir *Robert* would admit of no denial; and as the pre-

ſent Incumbent was not to be conſecrated immediately, reſolved to keep the Benefice vacant, till his return from his Travels.

His Travels to *Holland* and *France.*

It was in the Year 1664, that our Author went over to *Holland*; where, after he had ſeen what was remarkable in the ſeven Provinces, he fixed his reſidence at *Amſterdam*. There, by the help of a learned *Rabbi*, he perfected himſelf in the *Hebrew* Language; he likewiſe became acquainted with the leading Men of the different Perſuaſions tolerated in that Country; as the *Arminians*, the *Lutherans*, the *Unitarians*, the *Browniſts*, the *Anabaptiſts*, and the *Papiſts*: Amongſt each of whom, he uſed frequently to declare he had met with Men of ſuch real Piety and Virtue, that there he became fix'd in that ſtrong Principle of univerſal Charity, and of thinking well of thoſe that differed from him, as likewiſe in an invincible abhorrence of all ſeverities, on account of religious diſſenſions, which hath often drawn upon him the bittereſt cenſures from thoſe, who, perhaps by a narrower Education, were led into a narrower way of thinking.

From *Holland* he paſt through the *Netherlands* into *France*; he remained for ſome time at *Paris*, and converſed often with the two famous Miniſters of *Charenton*, *Daillé* and *Morus*; the one renowned for his Learning and Judgement, the other for his bright Parts and Eloquence. He thought there entred too much of the geſture of the Theatre

Theatre into *Morus*'s delivery; his Sermons were full of fire and of turns, which being out of the common road, at once ſurpriſed and pleaſed his Audience; but when theſe Flights, which paſt currently in a pathetick diſcourſe, came to be coolly conſidered, they would hardly bear the teſt: So that as our Author found in him much that deſerved imitation, there was ſtill more that required correction. His ſtay in *France* was the longer, on account of the great freedom and kindneſs, with which he was treated by the Lord *Holles*, then Ambaſſador at the *French* Court. Towards the End of the year he returned to *Scotland* through *London*, where he was introduced, by the Preſident Sir *Robert Murray*, to be a Member of the Royal Society.

Is ſettled as Miniſter at *Saltoun*, and his Conduct there.

Soon after his Arrival at *Edinburgh*, Sir *Robert Fletcher* came thither, and carried him down to *Saltoun*, giving him the Preſentation to that Church; but he declined taking it abſolutely at firſt, and reſolved to continue there four months, performing all the Functions of a Miniſter, without engaging himſelf to the Pariſh, till he ſhould have the joint requeſt of all the Pariſhioners; which he afterwards had, without one ſingle exception: and thereupon he was ordained a Prieſt by the Biſhop of *Edinburgh* in the year 1665. During the five years he remained at *Saltoun*, he preached twice every Sunday, and once more on one of the week days; he cate-

chiſed three times a week, ſo as to examine every Pariſhioner, old or young, thrice over in the compaſs of a year; he went round his Pariſh, from houſe to houſe, inſtructing, reproving or comforting them, as occaſion required; thoſe that were ſick, he viſited twice a-day; he adminiſtred the Sacrament four times a-year, and perſonally inſtructed all ſuch, as gave notice they intended to receive it; all that remained above his own neceſſary ſubſiſtence (in which he was very frugal) he gave away in Charity. A particular inſtance of his generoſity that way, a perſon * (who then lived with him, and afterwards was in his ſervice at *Salisbury*) uſed to recount: One of his Pariſhioners had been in Execution for debt, and came to our Author for ſome ſmall relief, who enquired of him, how much would again ſet him up in his Trade; the Man named the Sum, and he as readily called to his Servant to pay it him. „ Sir, ſaid he, it is all „ we have in the Houſe." „ Well, well, „ ſaid our Author, pay it this poor Man; „ you do not know the pleaſure there is, „ in making a Man glad." Thus as he knew the concerns of his whole Pariſh, as he treated them with tenderneſs and care, and as he ſet them a fair Example of every article of that duty, which he taught them, he had ſoon

* This was a Story commonly well known at *Salisbury*, and which the Editor learnt from Mr. *Waſtefield*, a Gentleman now living there.

ſoon gained the affections of them all, not excepting the Presbyterians; though he was then the only Man in *Scotland*, that made uſe of the Prayers in the Liturgy of the Church of *England*.

As his Studies were chiefly bent upon the Paſtoral Care, in which he endeavoured to inſtruct himſelf from the beſt Writers, concerning the Conſtitution of the Primitive Church, during the three firſt Centuries, among whom St. *Cyprian* was the chief; he obſerved, that the Biſhops, who governed in *Scotland*, though they derived the ſtrongeſt arguments for their Order, from theſe very Books, yet neglected all the Rules preſcribed in them. He therefore drew up a Memorial of their Abuſes, of which ſome Relation is given in the Hiſtory, as likewiſe of the harſh treatment he met with, upon that occaſion. However, as this ſtep had made ſome noiſe, and might be imputed to Ambition, or a deſire of becoming popular; he reſolved to live in a more retired manner, than he had done hitherto; and abſtracting himſelf from all mixt company, confining himſelf wholly to ſtudy and the duties of his Function, he entred into ſuch an aſcetick courſe, as had well nigh put an end to his life: for his bad diet, joined to hard ſtudy, had ſo corrupted the maſs of his blood, that in two ſucceſſive Fevers he was given over by the Phyſicians.

In the Year 1668, as the Government

Much consulted by the Ministry in *Scotland.*

of *Scotland*, both in Church and State, was put into the hands of moderate Men, among whom Sir *Robert Murray* was a principal Leader, our Author was frequently sent for and consulted by them; he was afterwards employed, as one of the chief Managers for the Church in negociating the Scheme of an Accommodation, between the Episcopal and Presbyterian Parties; of which a full Account is given in the History. He was, upon that occasion, introduced to the Dutchess of *Hamilton*; who, though her inclinations lay toward Presbytery, professed her self a Friend to moderate counsels. By her he was invited, the year following, to *Hamilton*, where he contracted an acquaintance with the Regent* of the University of *Glasgow*; who conceived such an esteem for him, that, their Chair of Divinity being vacant, he proposed our Author, as the Person most proper to fill it; and he recommended this in so effectual a manner, that in a few days after, he brought over to *Hamilton*, the Decree of the University, electing him their Professor. As this matter had been wholly transacted without his knowledge, so was he, for some time, in suspense what resolution to take; his Friends were all earnest in persuading him to accept of it, his Parishioners at *Saltoun*, for whom he had a most tender regard, were no less anxious to retain him: At length the Authority of Archbishop *Leighton* prevail-

Is made Professor of Divinity of *Glasgow.*

* Perhaps the Principal.

vailed, and he removed to *Glaſgow* in the year 1669, where he continued four years and a half, in no ſmall exerciſe of his patience. The Presbyterian Zealots hated him, as apprehending that his Schemes of Moderation would, in the end, prove the ſure way of eſtabliſhing Epiſcopacy amongſt them: The Epiſcopal Party, on the other hand, could not endure a Man, who was for exemting the Diſſenters from their proſecutions.

His Conduct in that Station.

As his principal care, in this new ſtation, was to form juſt and true notions in the Students of Divinity; he laid down a Plan for that purpoſe, to which no other objection could be offered, but that it ſeemed to require the labour of four or five, inſtead of one Man; yet he never failed executing every part of it, during his reſidence at *Glaſgow*. On Mondays he made each of the Students, in his turn, explain a head of Divinity in *Latin*, and propound ſuch *Theſes* from it, as he was to defend againſt the reſt of the Scholars; and this Exerciſe concluded with our Author's deciſion of the point, in a *Latin* Oration. On Tueſdays he gave them a *Prelection* in the ſame language, wherein he purpoſed, in the courſe of eight years, to have gone through a compleat Syſtem of Divinity. On Wedneſdays, he read them a Lecture, for above an hour, by way of a critical Commentary on St. *Mathew*'s Goſpel, which he finiſhed before he quitted the Chair. On Thurſdays the Exerciſe was alter-

ternate; one Thurſday he expounded a *Hebrew* Pſalm, comparing it with the *Septuagint*, the *Vulgar* and the *Engliſh* Verſion; and the next Thurſday, he explained ſome portion of the Ritual and Conſtitution of the Primitive Church, making the Apoſtolical Canons his Text, and reducing every article of practice, under the head of one or other of thoſe Canons. On Fridays he made each of his Scholars, in courſe, preach a ſhort Sermon, upon ſome Text he aſſigned; and when it was ended, he obſerved upon any thing, that was defective or amiſs, ſhewing how the Text ought to have been opened and applied. This was the labour of the mornings; in the evenings, after Prayer, he every day read them ſome parcel of Scaipture, on which he made a ſhort diſcourſe, and when that was over, he examined into the progreſs of their ſeveral Studies, incouraging them to propoſe their difficulties to him, upon the ſubjects they were then reading. This he performed, during the whole time the Schools were open; thereby anſwering the duty of a Profeſſor, with the aſſiduity of a School-Maſter: and in order to acquit himſelf with credit, he was obliged to ſtudy hard from four till ten in the morning; the reſt of the day being of neceſſity allotted, either to the uſe of his Pupils, or to hearing the complaints of the Clergy; who, finding he had an intereſt with the Men in power, were not ſparing in their applications to him.

In

In times of Vacation, our Author made frequent Viſits to *Hamilton*; and was eaſily engaged by the Dutcheſs, to undertake the task, of examining and putting in order all the papers, that related to her Father's and her Uncle's Miniſtry: She had kept theſe carefully together, but had not hitherto found a Perſon, whom ſhe thought ſafe to be entruſted with the peruſal of them; yet now ſhe had ſo entire a confidence in him, that ſhe put them all into his hands. The Earl (afterwards Duke) of *Lauderdale* no ſooner heard that he was compiling *Memoirs of the Dukes of Hamilton*, than he wrote to *Scotland*, earneſtly preſſing him to come up to Court, in order to receive ſuch informations from himſelf, concerning the tranſactions of thoſe times, as he was able to furniſh. Our Author thereupon went to *London*, where he was received, by the Earl of *Lauderdale*, with ſuch marks of confidence, as made it evident, that had he purſued the common methods of cultivating an intereſt, he might have raiſed himſelf to a great Fortune: But as he was a conſtant enemy to all thoſe artifices of a Court, whereby Men uſually riſe, ſo was he naturally of too frank a ſpirit, to bear with the Earl's imperious temper: All the uſe therefore he made, of his freedom of acceſs, was in negotiating and concluding a Reconciliation, between him and Duke *Hamilton*; who had Aſſignations given him, on the Revenues of the Crown, in

He undertakes to write the *Memoirs of the Dukes of* Hamilton.

in ſatisfaction of thoſe Pretenſions, of which our Author had found authentick vouchers, among the papers intruſted to his care; and the Duke, in return, promiſed to concur with the meaſures of the Court, in the enſuing Parliament. Four Biſhopricks in *Scotland* becoming vacant at this time, our Author was offered his choice of them; but he declined accepting a ſtation, for which he thought his years were unfit, in which he foreſaw, he ſhould be much entangled, and in all probability would be capable of doing little good.

He refuſes a Biſhopprick in *Scotland*.

Soon after his return to *Glaſgow*, he married the Lady *Margaret Kennedy*, a Daughter of the Earl of *Caſſiles*, who lived in great intimacy and friendſhip with the Dutcheſs of *Hamilton*: She was a Lady of diſtinguiſhed piety and knowledge; her own ſentiments inclined ſtrongly towards the Presbyterians, with whom ſhe was in high credit and eſteem; yet was ſhe far from entering into the rigid and narrow zeal of ſome of their Leaders. As there was ſome diſparity in their ages, that it might remain without diſpute, that this match was wholly owing to inclination, not to avarice or ambition, the day before their Marriage, our Author delivered the Lady a Deed, whereby he renounced all pretenſions to her Fortune, which was very conſiderable, and muſt otherwiſe have fallen into his hands, ſhe herſelf having no intention to ſecure it.

His marriage with the Lady *Margaret Kennedy*.

In the year 1672, Duke *Lauderdale* was ſent

ſent down, as the King's Commiſſioner, to hold a Parliament in *Scotland*, and our Author was conſidered as the Perſon, who had the greateſt influence over him; which was wholly employed in doing good offices to needy Suitors, and in preventing a breach, between him and Duke *Hamilton*; for which he was much exclaimed at, by the Party, then oppoſing the Court, who could have no hopes of prevailing, unleſs the latter would put himſelf at their head. About this time, he publiſhed his *Vindication of the Authority, Conſtitution, and Laws of the Church and State of* Scotland; wherein he ſtrongly maintained the Cauſe of Epiſcopacy, and the illegality of Reſiſtance, merely on account of Religion. This was thought, in that juncture, ſuch a publick ſervice, that he was again courted to accept of a Biſhoprick, with the promiſe of the next Archbiſhoprick, that ſhould be void; but he ſtill perſiſted in his refuſal.

Again refuſes a Biſhoprick, with the promiſe of the next Archbiſhoprick.

In 1673, he was obliged to take another journey to *London*, in order to obtain a Licence, for publiſhing his *Memoirs of the Dukes of* Hamilton: He went likewiſe with a full deſign, to break off from farther meddling in matters of State; he ſaw that Popery was at bottom the prevailing Intereſt at Court, and that the Sacramental Teſt, whereby the Duke of *York*, the Lord *Clifford* and other Papiſts in Employment had been excluded, was a meer artifice of King *Charles*, to obtain money for carrying on

His Favour at Court.

on the War that Summer with *Holland*. He ſuſpected that the deſigns of the Court were both corrupt and deſperate; he therefore uſed all the freedom, he decently could, with the Duke and Dutcheſs of *Lauderdale*; he pointed out to them the Errors of their Management in *Scotland*, and the ill effects it would have, both upon themſelves, and upon the whole Nation; and when he ſaw no diſpoſition to rectify their meaſures, he rejected all offers of Preferment made to himſelf; though he could not decline being ſworn one of the King's Chaplains, which, as it was a Poſt of no profit, ſo was it confer'd upon him at his Majeſty's expreſs nomination, upon having heard him preach. As Duke *Lauderdale*'s Enemies were ſoon informed of the frankneſs, with which he had remonſtrated, to his Grace, againſt the methods of adminiſtration, he was then purſuing; and as they knew his friendſhip and attachment to the *Hamilton* Family, they induſtriouſly magnified his credit in *Scotland*, to ſuch a degree, that his Majeſty often ſent for him in private, and the Duke of *York* much oftener. He made no other uſe of the high Favour, ſhewn him by the latter, than firſt to introduce Dr. *Stillingfleet* to him; and afterwards to propoſe a Conference, to be held in his Royal Highneſs's preſence, between them two and the chief of the *Romiſh* Prieſts: though there was little Reaſon at that time to hope, that any arguments would be able to effect the

Duke's

Duke's Converſion, and the very propoſal of ſuch a Diſpute was in a great meaſure renouncing all pretenſions to Preferment. He likewiſe ſought no other advantage, from the great freedom with which the King received him, than only to awaken in that Prince a ſenſe of Religion, and to rouſe him from that Lethargy of vice and indolence, in which his natural great talents ſeemed wholly buried. This is ſo much the reverſe of the conduct of aſpiring Clergymen, it lies ſo directly out of the road to power, riches, or dignity, that I hope it may acquit him from all imputation of Ambition.

His Breach with Duke *Lauderdale.*

As ſoon as the *Memoirs of the Dukes of Hamilton* were licenſed by Mr. Secretary *Coventry*; which was the longer delayed, becauſe the King and many of the Miniſters were deſirous to read them in Manuſcript; our Author returned to *Scotland*; And on his arrival at *Edinburgh*, finding the animoſity, between the Dukes of *Hamilton* and *Lauderdale*, riſen to a height not to be compoſed, he retired to his Station at *Glaſgow*, and refuſed to ſtir from thence all that winter. This, joined to the jealouſy, the favour ſhewn him at *London* had raiſed, drew upon him a ſtorm, which purſued him for many years after, with the utmoſt violence. The Meaſures of the Court proving unſucceſsful in Parliament, Duke *Lauderdale* threw the load of his own miſcarriage upon our Author, whom he repreſented as the

cauſe and inſtrument, under hand, of all the oppoſition he had met with. This Accuſation made it incumbent on him, once more to return to Court in the Year 1674. The King received him coldly, and ordered his Name to be ſtruck out of the Liſt of Chaplains; yet at the Duke of *York*'s intreaty, he admitted him to offer, what he thought proper in his own juſtification: He thereupon gave his Majeſty ſo clear and ſatisfactory an account of his conduct, appealing for the truth of all his aſſertions to Duke *Hamilton*, that in the end the King ſeemed convinced of his innocence, and ordered him home to *Glaſgow*. But the Duke of *York* diſſuaded him from returning thither, 'till his peace ſhould be entirely made; for he aſſured him, that otherwiſe he would be clap'd up in priſon, and detained there perhaps as long as the ſame intereſt prevailed at Court; his Royal Highneſs likewiſe uſed his utmoſt endeavours to have reconciled him with Duke *Lauderdale*; but that he found impracticable: the latter inſiſting, that our Author ſhould abandon his beſt Friends, and diſcover all the ſecrets, he had hitherto been in; and the other, as firmly perſiſting in his adherence to thoſe, who had ſhewn him Friendſhip, or repoſed a confidence in him.

Is forced to quit his Profeſſorſhip at *Glaſgow*.

Thus it became neceſſary either, by going back to *Scotland*, to put himſelf in the power of Enemies, who were not likely to treat him with any regard to juſtice

ſtice or his own innocence, or elſe to reſign his Profeſſor's chair, and ſettle in *England*. He choſe the latter, if it may be called a choice; and ſought an Eſtabliſhment in *London*: in which he met with all the oppoſition, the Miniſtry could give him; particularly in one Church (as he himſelf relates it in the Hiſtory) where the Electors were diſpoſed to have choſen him, had they not been deterred by a very ſevere Meſſage, in the King's name. Though the being thus in a manner turn'd a-drift, could not at the time but ſeem a misfortune, yet he ever ſpoke of it as the happieſt event of his Life. He was but thirty years old, and though the charms of Ambition had not that influence over him, which is uſual at thoſe years; yet he thought it a ſignal bleſſing, that any accident had diſentangled him, from the ſnares of ſo corrupt a Court, in whoſe ſervice he had been ſo far engaged, that he could not otherwiſe have been eaſily delivered from them.

Refuſes a good Benefice at *London*.

The ſituation he was now in, might ſurely have excuſed his embracing the firſt Proviſion that offered; yet he could not be tempted by it, to overlook the niceſt punctilio's of Juſtice or Honour; reſolved rather to ſuffer the utmoſt perſonal difficulties, than purchaſe Preferment at the leaſt expence of his Character. He therefore generouſly declined accepting the Living of *St. Giles's Cripplegate*, which about

this time was vacant*; it was in the Gift of the Dean and Chapter of *St. Paul's*, who had expreſſed ſome inclination to beſtow it upon Dr. *Fowler* (afterwards Biſhop of *Glouceſter*) but being made acquainted with the circumſtances of our Author, and the hardſhips he had undergone, they ſent him an offer of the Benefice: He thanked them for the favour, but ſaid, that as he had been informed of their intention of conferring it upon ſo worthy a Divine, he did not think himſelf at liberty to take it. After this, in the year 1675, he was recommended by the Lord *Holles* to the Friendſhip of Sir *Harbottle Grimſton*, Maſter of the Rolls, by whom he was appointed Preacher to the Chappel there: and though the Court ſent firſt a Biſhop, and then Mr. Secretary *Williamſon*, to perſuade Sir *Harbottle* to diſmiſs him, as one highly unacceptable to the King, yet he perſiſted in the Nomination he had made. By this means, our Author obtained a ſettlement in *London*, in which he continued above nine years; he was ſoon after choſen a Lecturer at *St. Clement's*, and grew to be one of the moſt followed Preachers in Town. His Sermons had not in them the ſtudied phraſes or the rounded periods, which were then

Is made Chaplain at the *Rolls*, and Lecturer at *St. Clement's*.

* This Fact Mr. *Mackney*, a Gentleman now living at *Salisbury*, aſſured me he had from the Biſhop's own mouth. And the ſame was confirmed to me by the Reverend Mr *John Craig*, who lived with Dr. *Burnet* at the time when it happened.

then too much in vogue; but there was a force in his reaſoning, a warmth in his expreſſion, and a dignity in his manner, joined to a gracefulneſs in his Perſon, which commanded attention; and as the heart always ſpoke in him, ſo it ſeldom failed of ſpeaking to the hearts of his Audience.

Writes the *Hiſtory of the Reformation.*

As the apprehenſions of Popery grew daily ſtronger, the moſt eminent Divines of the Church of *England* ſignalized themſelves in the *Romiſh* Controverſy: Nothing of that kind was more taken notice of, than the *Account* our Author printed, in the year 1676, *of a Conference*, which himſelf and Dr. *Stillingfleet* were engaged in with *Coleman* and the principal of the *Romiſh* Prieſts: This made him conſidered, as one who ſtood in the very front of the oppoſition to Popery. His Reputation, upon that account, was ſoon after raiſed to the higheſt pitch, by that great performance, *The Hiſtory of the Reformation*; in which, as he took a method wholly new, ſo it was univerſally applauded. The firſt Volume lay near a year, after it was finiſhed, for the peruſal and correction of Friends, ſo that it was not publiſhed 'till the Year 1679, when the Affair of the *Popiſh Plot* was in agitation. This Book procured our Author an Honour, never before or ſince paid to any Writer; he had the thanks of both Houſes of Parliament, with a Deſire that he would proſecute his Undertaking and compleat that valuable Work. Accordingly, in leſs than two

Years after, he printed the ſecond Volume, which met with the ſame general approbation, as the firſt: and ſuch was his readineſs in compoſing, that the wrote the hiſtorical part, in the compaſs of ſix weeks, after all his materials were laid in order.

His Converſion of *Wilmot* Earl of *Rocheſter.*

As our Author, though he had at this time no Parochial Cure, refuſed not his attendance to any ſick perſon, who deſired it; he was ſent for, amongſt others, to one, who had been engaged in a criminal Amour with *Wilmot* Earl of *Rocheſter*: The manner he treated her in, during her illneſs, gave that Lord a great curioſity of being acquainted with him: Whereupon, for a whole Winter, in a Converſation of at leaſt one Evening in a Week, he went over all thoſe Topicks with him, upon which *Scepticks* and Men of looſe morals are wont to attack the Chriſtian Religion. The effect this had, firſt in convincing that Earl's Judgment, and afterwards in making him a ſincere Penitent, is ſo fully related in the Account of it publiſhed in 1681, that it will be needleſs to add any thing here upon that ſubject.

Refuſes the Biſhoprick of *Chicheſter.*

During a great part of the time, when the enquiry into the *Popiſh Plot* was on foot, our Author was freequently ſent for by King *Charles*, and conſulted by him as to the ſtate of the Nation: His Majeſty made him an offer of the Biſhoprick of *Chicheſter* then vacant, provided he would *entirely come into his intereſts.* He anſwered "That he

" did

did not know what might be meant by that „ expreſſion; and he was unwilling to ſuffer „ any one, even to deceive themſelves by „ what he ſhould ſay. He knew the Oaths, „ he was to take upon ſuch an occaſion, „ theſe he would religiouſly obſerve; and „ deſired to be excuſed from any further „ engagements or general promiſes, which „ were liable to different conſtructions." But if his free acceſs to the King did not procure him that preferment, which very few with the ſame opportunities would have miſs'd, it engaged him to write his Majeſty ſuch a Letter, as may perhaps offend the delicacy of ſome, yet in juſtice to his Memory ought not to be ſuppreſs'd.

May it pleaſe YOUR MAJESTY*,

29 *January* 167$\frac{9}{8}$.

„ I Have not preſumed to trouble Your „ Majeſty for ſome Months, not ha- „ ving any thing worthy your time to offer; „ and now I chooſe rather this way, ſince- „ the infinite Duty I owe you puts me „ under reſtraints in diſcourſe, which I „ cannot ſo eaſily overcome. What I „ ſhall now ſuggeſt to your Majeſty, I do „ it as in the preſence of Almighty God, „ to whom I know I muſt give an account „ of

His Letter to the King.

* The Original of this Letter is now in the Editor's hand, wrote by the Biſhop, with a Memorandum how it was delivered, and when: And how it was received.

„ of all my actions: I therefore beg you
„ will be graciouſly pleaſed to accept this
„ moſt faithful zeal of your poor Subject,
„ who has no other deſign in it, than your
„ good, and the diſcharge of his own Con-
„ ſcience.

„ I muſt then firſt aſſure Your Majeſty,
„ I never diſcovered any thing like a De-
„ ſign of raiſing Rebellion, among all thoſe
„ with whom I converſe; but I ſhall add,
„ on the other hand, that moſt People
„ grow ſullen, and are highly diſſatisfied with
„ You, and diſtruſtful of You. Formerly
„ Your Miniſters, or his Royal Highneſs,
„ bore the blame of things that were ungrate-
„ ful; but now it falls upon Yourſelf, and
„ time, which cures moſt other diſtempers,
„ encreaſes this. Your laſt Speech makes ma-
„ ny think, it will be eaſy to fetch up
„ Petitions from all parts of *England*: This
„ is now under conſultation, and is not yet
„ determined; but I find ſo many inclined
„ to promote them, that as far as I can
„ judge, it will go that way. If Your Ma-
„ jeſty calls a new Parliament, it is belie-
„ ved, that thoſe who have promoted the
„ Petitions will be generally elected; for the
„ inferiour ſort of People are much ſet upon
„ them, and make their judgment of Men,
„ from their behaviour in that matter. The
„ ſoberer ſort of thoſe, who are ill pleaſed at
„ your conduct, rekon that either the ſtate
„ of your Affairs beyond Sea, or of your
„ Exchequer at home, will e'er long neces-

„ ſitate

„ ſitate your meeting your Parliament;
„ and that then things muſt be rectified: and
„ therefore they uſe their utmoſt endea-
„ vours to keep all quiet. If Your Majeſty
„ has a Seſſion in *April*, for ſupporting your
„ Allies, I find it is reſolved by many, that
„ the Money neceſſary to maintain your
„ Alliances, ſhall be put into the hands of
„ Commiſſioners, to iſſue it as they ſhall an-
„ ſwer to the two Houſes: and theſe will
„ be ſo choſen, that as it is likely, that
„ the Perſons will be very unacceptable to
„ You, ſo they being truſted with the Mo-
„ ney, will be as a Council of State, to con-
„ troul all your Councils. And as to your
„ Exchequer, I do not find any inclination
„ to conſider your Neceſſity, unleſs many
„ things be done to put them into another
„ diſpoſition, than I can obſerve in them.
„ The things that will be demanded, will
„ not be of ſo eaſy a digeſtion, as that I
„ can imagine You will ever be brought to
„ them, or indeed that it will be reaſonable
„ or honourable for You to grant them. So
„ that, in this diſorder of affairs, it is eaſy
„ to propoſe difficulties, but not ſo eaſy
„ to find out that, which may remove
„ them.

„ There is one thing, and indeed the
„ only thing, in which all honeſt Men agree,
„ as that which can eaſily extricate You
„ out of all your troubles; it is not the
„ change of a Miniſter, or of a Council,
„ a new Alliance, or a Seſſion of Parliament,

„ but it is (and ſuffer me, Sir, to ſpeak it
„ with a more than ordinary earneſtneſs) a
„ Change in your own Heart, and in your
„ Courſe of Life. And now, Sir, if You do
„ not with indignation throw this Paper
„ from You, permit me (with all the hu-
„ milty of a Subject proſtrate at your feet)
„ to tell you, That all the diſtruſt your
„ People have of You, all the Neceſſities
„ You, now are under, all the indignation
„ of Heaven, that is upon You, and appears
„ in the defeating all your Counſels, flow
„ from this, That You have not feared nor
„ ſerved God, but have given yourſelf up
„ to ſo many ſinful pleaſures. Your Majeſty
„ may perhaps juſtly think, that many of
„ thoſe that oppoſe You have no regard
„ for Religion, but the Body of your People
„ conſider it more than you can imagine.
„ I do not deſire your Majeſty to put on
„ a hypocritical ſhew of Religion, as *Henry*
„ the Third of *France* did, hoping thereby
„ to have weathered the Storms of thoſe
„ times. No! that would be ſoon ſeen
„ through, and as it would provoke God
„ more, ſo it would encreaſe jealouſies.
„ No! Sir, it muſt be real, and the eviden-
„ ces of it ſignal; All thoſe about You who
„ are the occaſions of Sin, chiefly the Wo-
„ men, muſt be removed, and your Court
„ be reformed. Sir, if You will turn You
„ to Religion ſincerely and ſeriouſly, You
„ ſhall quickly find a ſerene joy of ano-
„ ther nature poſſeſs your mind, than

„ what

„ what ariſes from groſs pleaſures; God
„ would be at peace with You, and di-
„ rect and bleſs all your Counſels; all
„ good Men would preſently turn to You,
„ and ill Men would be aſhamed, and
„ have a thin Party. For I ſpeak it know-
„ ingly, there is nothing has ſo alienated
„ the Body of your People from You, as
„ what they have heard of your Life,
„ which diſpoſes them to give an eaſy
„ belief to all other ſcandalous re-
„ ports.

„ Sir this Counſel is now almoſt as ne-
„ ceſſary for your Affairs as it is for your
„ Soul; and though You have offended
„ that God, who has been infinitely mer-
„ ciful to You, in preſerving You at *Wor-*
„ *ceſter* Fight, and during your long Exile,
„ and who brought You back ſo miracu-
„ louſly, yet he is ſtill good and gracious;
„ and will, upon your ſincere Repentance,
„ and change of Life, pardon all your Sins
„ and receive You into his Favour. Oh
„ Sir, what if You ſhould die in the
„ midſt of all your Sins? At the great Tri-
„ bunal, where You muſt appear, there
„ will be no regard to the Crown You now
„ wear; but it will aggravate your Puniſh-
„ ment, that being in ſo eminent a Station,
„ You have ſo much dishonoured God. Sir,
„ I hope, You believe there is a God, and
„ a Life to come, and that Sin ſhall not
„ paſs unpuniſhed. If Your Majeſty will
„ reflect upon your having now been twen-

„ ty

„ ty Years upon the Throne, and in all
„ that time how little You have glorified
„ God, how much You have provoked
„ him, and that your ill example has drawn
„ ſo many after You to Sin, that Men are
„ not now aſhamed of their Vices, You
„ cannot but think, that God is offended
„ with You: And if You conſider how ill
„ your Counſels at home, and Your Wars
„ abroad have ſucceeded, and how much
„ You have loſt the Hearts of Your People,
„ You may reaſonably conclude, this is of
„ God, who will not turn away his anger
„ from You, till You turn to him with your
„ whole Heart.

„ I am no Enthuſiaſt, either in opinion
„ or temper; yet I acknowledge, I have
„ been ſo preſs'd in my mind to make this
„ Addreſs to You, that I could have no
„ eaſe till I did it: And ſince you were plea-
„ ſed to direct me to ſend You, through
„ Mr. *Chiffinch*'s hands, ſuch informations
„ as I thought fit to convey to You, I
„ hope Your Majeſty will not be offended,
„ if I have made this uſe of that liberty. I
„ am ſure I can have no other deſign in it,
„ but your good; for I know very well,
„ this is not the method to ſerve any ends
„ of my own. I therefore throw myſelf at
„ your feet, and once more, in the Name
„ of God, whoſe Servant I am, do moſt
„ humbly beſeech Your Majeſty, to conſi-
„ der of what I have written, and not to
„ deſpiſe it for the meanneſs of the Perſon,

„ who

„ who has ſent it; but to apply yourſelf „ to Religion in earneſt: And I dare aſſure „ You of many Bleſſings both Temporal „ and Spiritual in this Life, and of eternal „ Glory in the Life to come: But if You „ will go on in your Sins, the Judgments of „ God will probably purſue You in this Life, „ ſo that You may be a Proverb to after-Ages; „ and after this Life, You will be for ever mi- „ ſerable; and I, your poor Subject that „ now am, ſhall be a Witneſs againſt You in „ the great Day, that I gave You this free and „ faithful Warning.

„ Sir, no Perſon alive knows, that I „ have written to You to this purpoſe; „ and I choſe this evening, hoping that Your „ Excerciſe to-morrow may put You into „ a diſpoſition to weigh it more carefully. „ I hope Your Majeſty will not be offended „ with this ſincere expreſſion of my „ Duty to You; for I durſt not have „ ventured on it, if I had not thought „ myſelf bound to it, both by the Duty I „ owe to God, and that which will ever „ oblige me to be,

„ *May it pleaſe* YOUR MAJESTY, *&c.*"

This is the Letter, of which ſome mention is made in page 882, of the firſt Part of this Hiſtory, as likewiſe of the effect it produced: It conveys to the Reader a much ſtronger idea of the Author's Character, than any deſcription can give; and I preſume, it will ſcarce be thought a ſtep, which

which any Clergyman would have taken, who aimed more at Preferment than the ſtrict diſcharge of his Duty.

The unprejudiced part our Author acted, during the whole time that the Nation was inflamed with the Diſcovery of the *Popiſh Plot*; his candid endeavours to have ſaved the Lives of *Staley* and the Lord *Stafford*, both zealous Papiſts; his temperate conduct in regard to the Excluſion of the Duke of *York*, and the Scheme of a Prince Regent, propoſed by him, in lieu of that Excluſion; are all ſufficiently related in the Hiſtory: This only may be farther obſerved, that his behaviour, in this critical juncture, was ſo impartial, as to diſpleaſe both the Court and the Country Party; which when Animoſities run high, will always be the fate of thoſe few, who follow the dictates of their own judgment and conſcience, without entring into the concerted meaſures of any one ſet of Men. A Character as valuable as it is rare.

His firm Adherence to his Friends.

In 1682, when the Adminiſtration was wholly changed, in favour of the Duke of *York*, the Courtiers thought themſelves at liberty to rail at our Author; as if his Writings and Sermons againſt Popery had been only calculated, to facilitate the Project of the Excluſion. Yet ſo little did the Court regard the reflections which were thrown upon him, that it being likely the Maſterſhip of the *Temple* would be ſoon vacant the Earls of *Halifax* and *Clarendon* obtained the

the King's promiſe of it for him: Upon which he was again ſent for by His Majeſty, and received with peculiar marks of Favour and Kindneſs. But theſe were ſoon withdrawn, & he himſelf waved the Promiſe made him; when he found it was expected, he ſhould break off correſpondence with ſome of his beſt Friends. And as, during the Debates concerning the Excluſion, he had loſt all his intereſt with Lord *Shaftesbury* and the Country Party, on account of his intimacy with the Earl of *Halifax*, and his his endeavours to juſtify, or at leaſt excuſe the Earl's conduct in that affair: So now he choſe rather to ſacrifice all the advantages, he might reap from that Lord's great power at Court, than to abandon the Society of the Earl of *Eſſex*, the Lord *Ruſſel*, and Sir *William Jones*. As he was, at this time, much reſorted to by Perſons of all Ranks and Parties, in order to avoid the neceſſity of returning Viſits, he built a *Laboratory*, and for above a year went through a Courſe of Chemical Experiments; which, as it ſerved to enlarge his Philoſophical notions, and was in itſelf an uſeful, as well as an innocent amuſement, ſo it furniſh'd him with a proper excuſe for ſtaying much at home. The Earl (ſoon after created Marquiſs) of *Halifax* complains of this retirement in a Letter, which I ſhall here inſert.

„ *SIR*,

„ *SIR*, * *October 16, 1681.*

„ THough I was tender in adviſing you
„ to wave any thing you might think
„ advantageous for you, yet ſince you
„ have thought fit to do it, I am at liberty
„ to approve it: And I only deſire you will
„ not make too haſty reſolutions concern-
„ ing yourſelf, and not be carried ſo far by
„ the ſudden motions of a ſelf-denying Ge-
„ nerosity, as to ſhut the door againſt thoſe
„ advantages, which you may expect with
„ juſtice, and may receive without indecen-
„ cy. Only a little patience is requiſite, and
„ in the mean time no greater reſtraint
„ upon your behaviour and converſation,
„ than every prudent Man, under your
„ Character and circumſtances would chuſe
„ voluntarily to impoſe on himſelf. For
„ what concerns me, or any part I might
„ have, in endeavouring to ſerve you, I
„ had rather you ſhould hear it from any
„ body, than from myſelf; & though you
„ ſhould never hear it from any body, I ex-
„ pect from your juſtice you ſhould ſuppoſe
„ it. Your withdrawing your ſelf from your
„ old Friends, on this corrupted ſide of the
„ Town, is that which I can neither ap-
„ prove for my own ſake, nor for yours:
„ For beſides many other objections, ſuch
„ a total ſeparation will make you by de-
„ grees think leſs equally, both of Men and
„ Things, than you have hitherto profeſ-
„ ſed

* The original Letter is in the Editor's hands.

„ ſed to do, in what relates to the Publick. „ I have no jealouſies of this kind for my ſelf „ in particular, being reſolved, at what di- „ ſtance ſoever, to deſerve your beliving me „ unalterably,

„ *Your faithful humble Servant,*

HALIFAX.

Not long after this, a Living worth three hundred Pounds a-year, which was in the Gift of the Earl of *Eſſex*, becoming void, he offered the Preſentation to our Author, upon condition he would promiſe ſtill to reſide in *London*; adding, „ That in the „ preſent poſture of Affairs, his Frier ds „ could not permit him to be abſent from „ the Town. He thereupon told the Earl, „ That in caſe he was preſented to a Cure „ of Souls, he muſt think himſelf under „ ſuch an obligation to Reſidence, as no „ other conſiderations could diſpenſe with," And for this reaſon the Benefice was given to another. Refuſes a Living on the terms of not reſiding.

In the Year 1683, when the *Rye Plot* broke out, and the Earl of *Eſſex* and Lord *Ruſſel* were taken into Cuſtody, all who knew his long and ſtrict Friendſhip with thoſe Great Men, concluded that he would have been involved in the ſame Accuſation. But as it had been his conſtant Principle, that Reſiſtance was not lawful, on account of ſingle acts of injuſtice or oppreſſion, unleſs the very baſis of the Conſtitution How he avoided being involved in any Plots.

was ſtruck at; ſo in order to avoid being drawn into ſecrets, he could not approve, he had declared to all thoſe he convers'd with, that 'till he ſhould be convinced that Reſiſtance was warrantable, he ſhould think it his Duty to diſcloſe all Conſultations, which he was made privy to, tending to that end. By this declaration, his moſt intimate Friends, when they entered into Cabals of this nature, were ſufficiently warned againſt communicating their deſigns to him. And this now proved his ſecurity.

His behaviour at the Trial of the Lord *Ruſſel*; his attendance on him in Priſon, and afterwards upon the Scaffold, at the time of his Execution; the Examination he underwent before the Council, in relation to that Lord's Dying Speech, and the boldneſs with which he there undertook to vindicate his Memory; as alſo the indignation the Court expreſs'd againſt him, upon that occaſion; are all fully ſet forth in the Hiſtory. Thither I muſt likewiſe refer the Reader, for an Account of the ſhort tour our Author took to *Paris*, and of the unuſual civilities there ſhewn him, by the King of *France*'s expreſs direction. His Friends at Court would indeed have perſuaded him to a longer ſtay there; they apprehended great ſeverities were preparing for him at home, which they repreſented in the ſtrongeſt light: But neither their intreaties, nor the menaces of his Enemies could prevent

vent his returning to *London*. He ſaid, „ That as he was conſcious of no crime, „ which could be truly laid to his charge, „ ſo he would not alarm himſelf, with the „ continual apprehenſion of what falſe Wit- „ neſſes might invent againſt him: That „ how fatal ſoever his return might prove, „ he could not think himſelf at liberty to „ be abſent from the Duties of his Func- „ tion." This Objection was indeed ſoon after removed; for he was, that very year, diſcharged from his Lecture at *St. Clement's*, in purſuance of the King's Mandate to Dr. *Haſcard*, Rector of that Pariſh: And in *December* 1684, by an extraordinary Order from the Lord Keeper *North* to Sir *Harbottle Grimſton*, he was forbid preaching any more in the Chapel at the *Rolls*.

Is diſmiſſed from his Lecture, and from the *Rolls*.

Thus at the time of King *Charles*'s Death, he was happily diſengaged from all thoſe ties, which might have rendered his ſtay in *England* any part of his Duty. Upon King *James*'s acceſſion to the Crown therefore, he deſired his leave to go out of the Kingdom; which the Marquis of *Halifax* eaſily obtained, the Court regarding him as one, whom they had no proſpect of gaining, and whom it was their intereſt therefore to keep out of the way. He firſt went to *Paris*, where he lived in great retirement, in order to avoid being involved in any of the Conſpiracies, which the Duke of *Monmouth*'s Friends were then forming in his favour. When that Rebellion was

His Travels beyond Sea.

at an end, having contracted an acquaintance with Brigadier *Stouppe*, a Proteſtant Officer then in the *French* Service, he was prevailed upon to take a Journey with him into *Italy*; though many of his Friends thought it a bold venture, conſidering how remarkably he had ſignalized himſelf, in the Controverſy with the *Romiſh* Church. But as he was not himſelf of a conſtitution, very ſubject to fear, ſo the advice of the Lord *Mountague*, who was then at *Paris*, encouraged him to embrace this opportunity of ſeeing *Rome*.

The Relation of theſe Travels is ſo amply given, in *The Letters* our Author publiſhed in the year 1687, that there will be no occaſion to add any thing here concerning them; except as to one particular, which may ſerve as a proof, both of the great regard paid him abroad, and of his own uniform zeal for Toleration. He was much careſſed and eſteemedby the principal Men of *Geneva*; He ſaw they inſiſted ſtrongly upon their *Conſent of Doctrine* *, which they required all thoſe to ſubcribe, who were admitted into Orders. He therefore employed all the eloquence he was Maſter of, and all the credit he had acquired amongſt them, to obtain an alteration in this practice: He repreſented to them the

* This is a Formulary commonly known by the name of the *Conſenſus*.

the folly and ill conſequence of ſuch Subſcriptions; whereby the honeſteſt and worthieſt Men were frequently reduced to the neceſſity of quitting their Native Country, and ſeeking a ſubſiſtence elſewhere; whilſt others of leſs Virtue were induced to ſubmit, and comply againſt their Conſcience, and even begin their Miniſtry with mental equivocations. The warmth, with which he expreſſed himſelf on this head, was ſuch, and ſuch was the weight of his Character, that the Clergy at *Geneva* were afterwards releaſed from theſe Subſcriptions, and only left ſubject to puniſhment or cenſure, in caſe of writing or preaching againſt the eſtabliſhed Doctrine.

Is well received by the Prince and Princeſs of *Orange*.

After a Tour through the ſouthern parts of *France*, then under Perſecution upon the Repeal of the Edict of *Nantes*, through *Italy*, *Switzerland*, and many places of *Germany*, our Author came to *Utrecht* in the year 1686, with an intention to have ſettled in ſome quiet Retreat within the ſeven Provinces: But at his arrival there he found Letters, from ſome of the principal Miniſters of State at the *Hague*, intreating him to fix upon no ſettlement, 'till he ſhould have ſeen the Prince and Princeſs of *Orange*. When he was firſt admitted to an Audience of them, he perceived that his Friends in *England*, eſpecially the Marquis of *Halifax* and the Lady *Ruſſel*, had given him ſuch a Character, as not only enſured him a moſt gracious reception, but ſoon after procured

him an entire confidence. When he was made acquainted with the ſecret of their Counſels, he adviſed the putting the Fleet of *Holland* immediately into ſuch order, as might give courage to their Friends in *Great Britain*, in caſe matters there ſhould come to extremities; he prevailed upon both their Highneſſes, to write a Letter to King *James*, in favour of the Biſhop of *London*, who was then under Suſpenſion: He ventured to propoſe to the Princeſs, the explaining herſelf, upon that nice but neceſſary point, of the ſhare the Prince was to expect in the Government, in caſe the *Britiſh* Crown ſhould devolve on her; and when in was determined to ſend over Mr. *Dyckvelt*, as Ambaſſador to *England*, our Author was employed to draw his ſecret Inſtructions, of which the rough draught is ſtill extant, in his own hand.

King *James* inſiſts on his being forbid that Court.

The high favour now ſhewn him at the *Hague*, alarmed King *James*, who was much incenſed againſt him, for the Account he had printed of his Travels; in which he had ſo ſtrongly diſplayed the miſeries, thoſe Nations groan under, where Popery and Arbitrary Power prevail, that it ſeemed to have a ſenſible effect on the People of *England*. The King wrote two ſevere Letters againſt him to the Princeſs of *Orange*; and when the Marquiſs *d' Albyville* was ſent Envoy to *Holland*, he had Orders to enter upon no other matter of treaty, 'till our Author was firſt forbid the Court there; which

which, at his importunity, was done: but he continued to be truſted and employed in the ſame manner as before; *Halewyn*, *Fagel*, and the reſt of the *Dutch* Miniſters conſulting him daily.

Is proſecuted in *Scotland* and in *England* for High-Treaſon.

The report, that he was then upon the point of marrying a conſiderable Fortune at the *Hague*, having reached the *Engliſh* Court; in hopes to divert this, a Proſecution of High-Treaſon was ſet on foot againſt him in *Scotland*. Before notice of this Proſecution came to the *States*, he had been naturalized in order to his marriage: When therefore he undertook, in a Letter to the Earl of *Middletoun*, to anſwer all the matters laid to his charge, he added, *That being now naturalized in* Holland, *his Allegiance during his ſtay there, was tranferred from his Majeſty to the* States. This expreſſion was immediately laid hold of; So that dropping the former Proſecution, they now proceeded againſt him for *theſe words*, as guilty of High-Treaſon; and a Sentence of Outlawry paſs'd upon him. *D'Albyville* thereupon, firſt demanded him to be delivered up, and when he ſaw this demand was like to prove ineffectual, he inſiſted that he ſhould be baniſhed the ſeven Provinces, in purſuance of an Article in the laſt Treaty between the two Nations, which related to *Rebels* and *Fugitives*, though it could not be pretended that he came within either of theſe deſcriptions. The *States*, in their Anſwer to the *Britiſh* Envoy's Memorial, ſaid, „ That as

The *States* refuse to deliver him up.

„ Dr. *Burnet*, by Naturalization, was be-
„ come a Subject of their own, they could
„ not baniſh him, unleſs ſome crime was
„ legally proved upon him: If his *Britan-*
„ *nick* Majeſty had any thing to lay to his
„ charge, they would compel him to anſ-
„ wer it; and if his Judges pronounced him
„ guilty, they would puniſh him according
„ their Laws; this was all that in reaſon
„ or juſtice could be demanded of them."
As this Anſwer put an end to all farther Application to the *States*, ſo it gave occaſion to ſome unwarrantable deſigns of ſeizing his Perſon, and even deſtroying him, if he could not be taken. Of this our Author had notice given him from ſeveral hands, and one in particular, by the following Letter from Captain *Baxter*, a Gentleman of unqueſtioned Honour and Reputation, whoſe Father was at that time Steward to the Duke of *Ormond*'s Eſtate.

Deſigns to ſeize upon him.

„ *Dear Sir*, * *Hague*, the 14th of *March*, 1688.

„ THough I have no acquaintance with
„ you, yet the eſteem I have for
„ your Character, and the benefit I have re-
„ ceived by your Works, obliges me to
„ tell you the proceedings againſt you in
„ *England*. I happened the other day to go in-
„ to the Secretary's Office, where I ſaw an Order

* This Letter is in the Editor's hands, with the Biſhop's own Memorandum how he came to the knowledge of the Perſon who wrote it, and of his Character.

„ Order for Three Thouſand Pound, to
„ be paid the Perſon, that ſhall deſtroy you.
„ I could hardly believe my eyes, that I
„ ſaw the paper, it ſeemed ſo ſtrange to
„ me: This I communicated in private to
„ my Lord *Oſſory*, who told me, it was
„ true, for he had it from Prince *George*.
„ My Lord deſired me to be private in the
„ thing, 'till I came to *Holland*; and then, if I
„ pleaſed, to tell you of it. Sir, I am your
„ Friend, and my advice to you is, to take
„ an eſpecial care of yourſelf, for no doubt
„ but that great Sum will meet with a merce-
„ nary hand. Sir, you ſhall never want a
„ Friend, where I am..."

His Marriage to Mrs. *Scott*.

Some Months before this, our Author had married Mrs. *Mary Scott*, a *Dutch* Lady of a large Fortune and noble extraction. Her Anceſtor, on the Father's ſide, was a younger Brother of the Family of *Buccleugh*, who, upon a Quarrel in *Scotland*, went over to *Holland*; his Son was a Brigadier-General at the Siege of *Middleburgh* in the year 1574, & afterwards Deputy for the Province of *Zealand* in the Aſſembly of the *States General*; his Grandſon, *Apollonius Scott*, who was this Lady's Grandfather, was Preſident of the high Court of Juſtice at the *Hague*, and by Marriage allied to the nobleſt Houſes in *Zealand*: On the Mother's ſide, who was a *De Ruyter*, ſhe was related to the principal Families in *Guelderland*. With theſe advantages of birth, ſhe had thoſe of an

extremely agreeable Perſon; ſhe was well skilled in all ſorts of Muſick; drew and painted in great perfection; ſhe ſpoke *Dutch*, *Engliſh* and *French* equally well: ſhe had a fine underſtanding, and a ſweetneſs of temper, that charmed all her Acquaintance; her knowledge in matters of Religion was ſuch, as might rather be expected from a Student in Divinity, than from a Lady. In her, our Author, during the whole courſe of her Life, found a Religious, diſcreet and loving Friend, a dutiful Wife, a prudent Miſtreſs of his Family, a careful Manager of his Affairs, and a tender Mother of his Children.

His Conduct at the Revolution.

The important ſhare our Author had in the whole Conduct of the Revolution; his ſeaſonable counſels in every ſtep of that great Affair; the early notice he gave of it to the Court of *Hanover*, intimating that the ſucceſs of this Enterprize muſt naturally end, in an Entail of the *Britiſh* Crown upon that Illuſtrious Houſe; the unreſerved confidence repoſed in him, both by the Prince of *Orange*, and by the Malecontents in *England*; the aſſiſtance he gave in drawing that Prince's Declaration, and the other publick Papers, written to juſtify the Undertaking; his courage in bearing a ſhare in the hazard of that Expedition, notwithſtanding the peculiar circumſtances of danger he was in; the Aſſociation propoſed and drawn by him at *Exeter*; the good Offices he endeavoured to do King *James*, while

while detained at *Feverſham* in the hands of a rude Multitude; the care he took to protect the Papiſts and Jacobites, from the Inſults of the Army and Populace, when the *Dutch* Troops arrived at *London*; his faithful adherence to the Intereſt of the Princeſs of *Orange*, in the affair of the Settlement of the Crown: Theſe, as well as the other ſignal Services, our Author rendered his Country when the Abdication of King *James* made it requiſite to eſtabliſh a new Government, are too fully related in the Hiſtory, to need any farther mention here.

Declines the offer of the Biſhoprick of *Durham*.

Dr. *Crew*, then Biſhop of *Durham*, had acted ſuch a part in the High Commiſſion in King *James's* Reign, that he thought it would be no ill compoſition, if he could indemnify his Perſon at the expence of his Spiritual Preferment; which he purpoſed to reſign to our Author, truſting to his generoſity for an Allowance of a Thouſand Pounds a-year out of the Epiſcopal Revenue, during his Life: He ſent the Lord *Mountague** with this propoſal to the Prince of *Orange*; but when the Meſſage was carried to our Author, he abſolutely refuſed to accept of the See upon thoſe terms, which he thought might juſtly be conſtrued criminal.

* This is taken from the Biſhop's MS. Notes, and is confirmed by a Letter, from one who was Secretary of State, in King *William's* Reign.

nal. He was indeed ſo little anxious after his own preferment, that when the Biſhoprick of *Salisbury* became void, as it did ſoon after King *William* and Queen *Mary* were eſtabliſhed on the Throne, he ſollicited for it, in favour of his old Friend, Dr. *Lloyd* then Biſhop of *St. Aſaph:* The King anſwered him in a cold way, *That he had another Perſon in view*; and the next day he himſelf was nominated to that See.

Is made Biſhop of *Salisbury.*

When the famous Bill, for declaring the Rights and Liberties of the Subject, and ſettling the Succeſſion of the Crown, was brought into the Houſe of Lords, as our Author had firſt intimated to the Houſe of *Hanover* the probability of a Limitation, in their favour, King *William*, in preference to all his Miniſters, appointed him to be the Perſon, that ſhould propoſe the naming the Dutcheſs (afterwards Electreſs) of *Brunſwick*, next in Succeſſion after the Princeſs of *Denmark* and her Iſſue. Though this Settlement did not then take effect, otherwiſe than as it ſeemed imply'd in the excluſion of all Papiſts; and was not explicitly eſtabliſhed till after the Duke of *Glouceſter*'s Death in 1701, (when our Author had the farther merit of being Chairman of the Committee, to whom the Bill was referred) yet it made that illuſtrious *Houſe* from thenceforth conſider him, as one firmly attach'd to their intereſts, and with whom they might

might therefore enter into the ſtricteſt confidence. Accordingly, from that time her late Royal Highneſs the Princeſs *Sophia* began a Correſpondence with him, which laſted to her Death, and of which above fifty Letters are extant, all written in her own hand. Two of theſe I ſhall here inſert, the one written in 1689, ſoon after the Propoſal of naming her in the Act of Succeſſion had been made; the other in 1701 when that Nomination took effect.

His Services to, and his Correſpondence with the Houſe of *Hanover*.

„ MONSIEUR, *

„ *COmme j'ai toujours eu une „ eſtime tres particuliere, pour le merite „ de votre Reverence, „ & que j'ai cru la „ connoitre par ſes Ecrits, V. R. pourra „ aiſément juger par „ là, combien les marques de votre Amitié m'ont été agreables. Je vous aſſeure, „ que je les eſtime tres „ particulierement, & „ que je ſuis fort reconnoiſſante de la faveur, qu'il vous a plû*

„ MY LORD,

„ AS I ever had a „ moſt particular eſteem for your „ Merit, and have „ fancied myſelf acquainted with you „ by your Writings, „ you may eaſily judge by that, how agreeable the marks „ you have given me „ of your Friendſhip „ muſt have been. I „ aſſure you I eſteem „ them in a very particular manner, and „ am very grateful „ for the warmth, you

* The Original Letter is in the Editor's hands.

„ *plût témoigner pour*
„ *mes intereſts, ce que*
„ *eſt une auſſi grande*
„ *Satisfaction pour ma*
„ *Perſonne, que ſi vos*
„ *bonnes intentions eus-*
„ *ſent mieux reüſſi. Car*
„ *je ne ſuis plus d'un*
„ *Age à penſer à d'au-*
„ *tre Royaume; que*
„ *celui des Cieux; &*
„ *pour mes Fils, ils doi-*
„ *vent toujours eſtre*
„ *dediez au Roy & au*
„ *Royaume. Monſieur*
„ Schutz *m'a mandé*
„ *que V. R. etoit per-*
„ *ſuadée, que ſa Ma-*
„ *jeſté auroit pour a-*
„ *greable, que j'en fiſſe*
„ *voir un en* Angle-
„ terre; *& comme mon*
„ *ſecond Fils m'avoit*
„ *deja mandé, qu'il ſe-*
„ *roit bien aiſe d'aller,*
„ *après la Campagne,*
„ *pour féliciter le Roi,*
„ *ſur ſon Avénement*
„ *à la Couronne, &*
„ *qu'il en demanderoit*
„ *la Permiſſion à l'Em-*
„ *pereur, dont il eſt*
„ *Major-General; j'o-*
„ *ſe prier V. R. de l'as-*
ſiſter

„ you have been plea-
„ ſed to teſtify for
„ my intereſts, which
„ is as great a perſo-
„ nal ſatisfaction to
„ me, as if your good
„ intentions had been
„ more ſucceſsful.
„ For I am no lon-
„ ger of an Age to
„ think of any other
„ Kingdom, than that
„ of Heaven; and as
„ for my Sons, they
„ ought always to be
„ devoted to the King
„ and Kingdom. Mr.
„ *Schutz* has infor-
„ med me, that you
„ were of opinion,
„ that his Majeſty
„ would be pleaſed,
„ if I ſent one of
„ them into *England*;
„ and as my ſecond
„ Son had already ac-
„ quainted me, that
„ he ſhould be glad
„ to go, after the
„ Campaign, to con-
„ gratulate the King,
„ upon his Acceſſion
„ to the Crown, and
„ that he would ask
the

„ *ſiſter de vos Com-*
„ *ſeils, pour bien fai-*
„ *re ſa Cour, lors qu'il*
„ *fera ce Voyage. S'il*
„ *eut voulu changer de*
„ *Religion, il auroit*
„ *fort bien reüſſi dans*
„ *ſes Affaires auprès*
„ *de l'Empereur, mais*
„ *il a trop de ſon On-*
„ *cle, le Prince* Ru-
„ pert, *pour n'eſtre pas*
„ *ferme dans ſa Reli-*
„ *gion. Il eſt vray*
„ *qu'elle porte le Nom*
„ de Luther, *mais nos*
„ *Eccleſiaſtiques de*
„ Hanovre *la diſent*
„ *conforme à la Reli-*
„ *gion* Anglicane, *&*
„ *auroient voulu me*
„ *donner le Saint Sa-*
„ *crement, dans la*
„ *Croyance où je ſuis.*
„ *Mais je n'ai pas*
„ *voulu donner de*
„ *Scandale à ceux de*
„ *ma Religion, dont je*
„ *crois que V. R. ap-*
„ *prouvera. Cependant*
„ *je dois la féliciter,*
„ *qu'il a plu à Dieu*
„ *de vous donner un*
„ *Roi & une Reine*
d'un

„ theEmperor's leave
„ for it, being a
„ Major General in
„ his Service; I dare
„ beg you to aſſiſt
„ him with your ad-
„ vice, how to make
„ his Court well,
„ when he takes
„ that Journey. If
„ he would have
„ changed his Reli-
„ gion, he might
„ have ſucceeded
„ well in his affairs at
„ the ImperialCourt,
„ but he has too
„ much of his uncle
„ Prince *Rupert*, not
„ to be firm in his
„ Religion. It is true,
„ it bears the Name
„ of *Luther*, but our
„ Divines at *Hanover*
„ ſay, 'tis comform-
„ able to that of the
„ Church of *England*,
„ and would have gi-
„ ven me the Holy
„ Sacrament in the
„ Belief I am in. But
„ I would not give
„ any Scandal to
„ thoſe of my Reli-
gion,

„ *d'un Merite infini ;*
„ *Je le prie de vous*
„ *les conſerver, & de*
„ *donner à moi la ſa-*
„ *tisfaction, de te-*
„ *moigner à vous, &*
„ *à tout ce qui vous eſt*
„ *cher, par des Ser-*
„ *vices agreables com-*
„ *bien je ſuis.*

„ Tres Affection-
„ née à vous ſer-
„ vir,

SOPHIE PALATINE.

* *Herenhauſen*, 22 *Juin* 1701.

„ VOUS *avez bien*
„ *de la bonté Mon-*
„ *ſieur, de prendre*
„ *part à tout ce qui re-*
„ *garde la grandeur de*
„ *la Maiſon, où je ſuis*
„ *entrée : Et je dois*
vous

„ gion, which I be-
„ lieve you will ap-
„ prove. However, I
„ ought to congra-
„ tulate you, upon
„ its having pleaſed
„ God, to give you
„ a King & a Queen
„ of infinite Merit :
„ I pray him to pre-
„ ſerve them to you,
„ and to give me the
„ ſatisfaction of tes-
„ tifying to you, and
„ every one that is
„ dear to you, by
„ agreeable ſervices,
„ how much I am.

„ *Moſt Affectionate*
„ *to ſerve you,*

SOPHIA PALATINE.

* *Herenhauſen*, 22 *June* 1701

„ YOU are very
„ obliging, My
„ Lord, to take part
„ in every thing, that
„ regards the Gran-
„ deur of the Houſe,
„ into which I am
mar-

* The original is in the Editor's hands.

„ vous remercier en
„ particulier de l'Af-
„ fection, que vous
„ m'avez temoignée,
„ dans l'Affaire de la
„ Succeſſion, qui ex-
„ clut en meme temps
„ tous les Heritiers
„ Catholiques, qui ont
„ toujours cauſé tant
„ de deſordres en An-
„ gleterre. Je ſuis
„ par malheur trop
„ vieille, pour pouvoir
„ jamais être utile à
„ la Nation & à
„ mes Amis, ce qui
„ me feroit pourtant
„ beaucoup aimer la
„ vie. Cependant je ſou-
„ haiterois, que ceux
„ qui viendront apres
„ moi, ſe rendiſſent
„ dignes de l'honneur,
„ qu'ils auront: Et
„ que je puiſſe au
„ moins trouver lieu
„ de vous témoigner,
„ par des Services,
„ l'Eſ-

„ married; and I
„ ought to thank you
„ in particular for the
„ Affection, which
„ you have teſtify'd
„ to me, in the Af-
„ fair of the Succes-
„ ſion, which ex-
„ cludes at the ſame
„ time all Catholick
„ Heirs, who have
„ always cauſed ſo
„ many diſorders in
„ England. I am
„ unfortunately too
„ old, ever to be uſe-
„ ful to the Nation,
„ and to my Friends,
„ which if I could
„ be, it would make
„ me much in love
„ with Life. Howe-
„ ver, I ſhall wiſh,
„ that thoſe who are
„ to come after me,
„ may render them-
„ ſelves worthy of
„ the Honour they
„ will have: And that
„ I may at leaſt find
„ ſome occaſion for
„ teſtifying, by my
„ Services, the E-
„ ſteem

„ *l'Eſtime que j'ai de votre Merite.* „ ſteem I have for your Merit.

SOPHIE ELECTRICE. SOPHIA ELECTRESS.

Our Author maintained an unſhaken credit with King *William* and Queen *Mary*, during their whole Reign; indeed the King's Favour was ſometimes interrupted, with ſhort diſguſts, at the uncourtly liberty he took of ſpeaking his mind, even upon ſome ſubjects that he perceived were diſagreeable; but the real Eſteem thoſe Princes had for him will appear beyond conteſt, from ſeveral facts in the Hiſtory, too numerous to be recapitulated here, and from ſome others, which I ſhall hereafter have occaſion to mention. The uſe he made of this credit, is the principal point a Writer of his Life muſt be concerned for: It is that alone, muſt ſettle his real Character, which I am ſatisfy'd has been too commonly miſtaken; and never more egregiouſly, than by thoſe, who have repreſented him as an *Inveterate Party-Man*. That he was ſtedfaſt to his firſt Principles; that in all his Conduct relating to the Publick, he was rigidly ſtrict to theſe; is a Truth too much to his Honour, for me to diſpute: But it will be eaſy to demonſtrate, that his own particular way of thinking, as to Party-matters, had no influence over him, either in his Friendſhips, in his Charities, or in his Preferments, where

His Character as to party matters.

where the Publick was not immediately concerned. It might be tedious, I am ſure it would be voluminous, here to inſert all the Evidences in my hands, from whence it appears, how frequently his whole intereſt was exerted in favour of Men, who neither from their publick nor their private conduct, had any reaſon to expect ſuch ſervices from him. Some Inſtances of this nature, I ſhall have occaſion elſewhere to produce; but I ſhall content myſelf here with one, which is very remarkable, and may alone be ſufficient to eſtabliſh his Reputation on this head. Some of the harſheſt treatment, he had met with in the two former Reigns, had paſs'd through the hands of the Earl of *Rochester*; no two Men ever differed more widely in their Principles, both in Church and State: yet the firſt good offices done that Earl, with the King and Queen (after all other applications for introduction had failed) their entire Reconciliation to him, and the firſt advantages he reaped in conſequence of that Reconciliation, were owing to our Author. And when the Earl of *Clarendon* was afterwards unhappily engaged in the Conſpiracy, againſt the Government, in 1690; and ſome hotter Whigs were for the ſevereſt methods, the Biſhop became a hearty and ſucceſsful Advocate in his favour. Theſe matters are but curſorily mentioned in the Hiſtory, but will more fully appear from the four following ori-

ginal Letters; the first written by the Countess of *Ranelagh*, the other three by the Earl of *Rochester* himself.

„ *My Lord*, *

„ YOUR Lordship knows that by my „ Lord *Rochester*'s desiring me to help „ him to thank you, for your forwardness „ to do him favours with their Majesties, „ (out of the sense he had, that he ought „ to be more grateful for them, because „ he had not at all deserved them from „ your Lordship) he had informed me, „ that you had done him such Favours: „ And when, pursuant to his desire, I began „ to give you humble thanks for him „ (who is a Person in whom I can be „ very sensibly obliged) I told your Lord- „ ship I was pleased in paying this duty, „ as much upon your account, as upon „ his Lordship's, as having attempted „ to conquer him by weapons, fit to „ be used by one of your Profession „ and Character; and I hoped he might „ be advantaged, as well by being gained „ by you, as by reaping good fruits of „ your Mediation, with their Majesties. „ And now I present your Lordship, in the „ enclosed, with what appears to me an „ Evidence that my hopes of his making „ in-

* The Originals are in the Editor's Hands.

„ ingenuous returns, for your generous ad-
„ vances towards a Friendſhip with him,
„ were not groundleſs. Since he would ſure
„ never have pitched upon you, to manage
„ an Application of his, about an intereſt
„ wherein the viſible ſubſiſtence of his Fa-
„ mily is ſo deeply concerned, if he did
„ not firmly believe the reality of your
„ intentions towards him; though he have
„ no merits of his towards you, or any
„ thing elſe, but your Chriſtian beginnings
„ towards him, to build that Faith upon.
„ Nor can he, in my poor opinion, give
„ you a clearer proof of his being already
„ overcome by you, than in chuſing you
„ to be the Perſon, to whom he would
„ in ſuch an intereſt be obliged: Since he
„ thereby puts himſelf upon the peril of
„ being faithfully yours, or a very unthank-
„ ful Man; which I do ſo much aſſure my-
„ ſelf he will not be, that I humbly
„ beg your Lordſhip to put this obligation
„ upon him, to perfect what you have al-
„ ready begun to do for him, of a like na-
„ ture, and to the ſame Royal Perſon:
„ Who would not, I think, act unbeco-
„ ming herſelf, nor the eminent Station,
„ God has placed her in, in aſſiſting five
„ innocent Children, who have the honour
„ to be related to her Royal Mother, who
„ did ſtill, with great tenderneſs, conſider
„ her own Family when ſhe was moſt rai-
„ ſed above it; eſpecially when, in aſſiſting
„ them, her Majeſty will need only to con-

„ cern herſelf, to preſerve a Property, made
„ theirs by the Law of *England*, which
„ as Queen of this Kingdom ſhe is obliged
„ to maintain.

„ I ſend your Lordſhip my Lord *Roches-*
„ *ter*'s Letter to me, that you may ſee he
„ has thoughts that juſtify what I have
„ ſaid here for him, and has expreſs'd them
„ much better than I can do; ſo that
„ as an argument to gain your Pardon,
„ for this confuſed Scribble of mine, I
„ preſent you with his good writing. I
„ am,

Your Lordſhip's humble and affectionate Servant,

The 13th of *July*. 1689. K. RANELAGH.

„ *My Lord,*

„ THE good offices, your Lordſhip has
„ told me you endeavoured to do me
„ with the Queen, of your own accord and
„ generoſity, incline me to be deſirous to be
„ obliged to your Lordſhip, for the favour of
„ preſenting the encloſed Petition to her
„ Majeſty. Your Lordſhip will ſee, by the
„ reading it, the occaſion and the ſubject
„ of it; and I am ſure I need not ſuggeſt
„ any thing to your own kind thoughts,
„ to add at the delivery of it, ſave only
„ this, which I thought not proper to

„ touch

„ touch in the Petition, that I have certain-
„ ly as good a Title in Law to it, as any
„ Man has to any thing he poſſeſſes; as
„ likewiſe that the Penſion is appropriated,
„ to be paid out of a part of the Revenue,
„ which never was deſigned by any Act of
„ Parliament, for any publick uſe of the Go-
„ vernment: which I think has ſomething of
„ weight and reaſon, to diſtinguiſh it from
„ thoſe Penſions, that are placed on
„ the more publick Branches of the Reve-
„ nue.

„ I know not, whether the Queen can
„ do me any good in this affair, but I
„ will believe her Majeſty cannot but
„ wiſh ſhe could; however, I think, I
„ ſhould have been very wanting to my
„ Childeren, if I had not laid this Caſe
„ moſt humbly before her Majeſty: Left
„ at one time or other, ſhe herſelf might
„ ſay, I had been too negligent in not
„ making Applications to her; which ha-
„ ving now done, I leave the reſt, with
„ all poſſible ſubmiſſion, to her own judg-
„ ment, and to the reflections, that ſome
„ good-natured moments may incline her
„ to make towards my Family. I ſhould ſay
„ a great deal to your Lordſhip, for my
„ own confidence, in addreſſing all this to
„ your Lordſhip, ſome paſſages of my Life
„ having been ſuch, as may very properly
„ give it that name: But, I think, whatever
„ you would be content to hear on that ſub-
„ ject, will be better expreſſed by the Per-

„ ſon, who does me the honour to deliver
„ this to your Lordſhip, from

My Lord,

Your Lordſhip's moſt Obedient Servant,

July the 13th, 1689. ROCHESTER.

„ *My Lord,*

„ UPON what account ſoever it is,
„ that your Lordſhip is pleaſed to
„ let me hear from you, I take it to be
„ ſomething of good fortune, whatſoever
„ ill cauſe there may be in it too. There-
„ fore I humbly thank your Lordſhip for
„ the honour of yours of the 18th from
„ *Salisbury*; which was ſent me to this
„ pretty place, where I love to be, as much
„ as you do at your Palace; and though I
„ cannot do ſo much good to others, as
„ your Lordſhip does there to all that
„ are near you, yet I do more to my-
„ ſelf, than I can do any where elſe.
„ *Quid ſentire putas, quid credis, amice,*
„ *precari? Sit mihi quod nunc eſt, etiam*
„ *minus, ut mihi vivam Quod ſupereſt*
„ *ævi.* Forgive this trangreſſional Rap-
„ ture, and receive my Thanks, which I
„ pay your Lordſhip again, for your kind
„ Letter,: For indeed I do take it very kind-
„ ly, that you were ſo much concerned, as

„ to

„ to give me a kind hint of that unſeaſonable
„ diſcourſe, you came to be acquainted with,
„ when you were laſt in *London*: I will
„ make the beſt uſe of it, I can; to pre-
„ vent the like for the future, if I have
„ any credit. And in the mean time, I muſt
„ make uſe of this opportunity, to calm and
„ ſoften your reſentments, towards this
„ Friend of mine, as you call him in the begin-
„ ning of your Letter. I will allow you, as a
„ Servant to the King and Queen and a
„ Subject to their Crown, to have as great
„ a deteſtation of the Contrivance, as you
„ can wiſh; and upon my word, I can accom-
„ pany you in it. But when I conſider you,
„ as once you were, a concern'd Friend
„ of this Lord, to have a reſpect for his
„ Family, and particularly for my Father,
„ who loſt not only all the Honneurs and
„ Preferments of this World, but even the
„ Comforts of it too, for the integrity
„ and uprightneſs of his Heart: you muſt for-
„ give me, if I conjure you, by all that's
„ Sacred in this Generation, in which we live
„ together, by the Character that you
„ bear, and by the Religion you profeſs,
„ that you do not (as much as in you lies)
„ ſuffer this next Heir of my good Father's
„ Name and Honour, to go down with
„ ſorrow to the Grave. I would not flatter
„ myſelf, that your Lordſhip ſhould be
„ moved with any fondneſs of mine, to en-
„ deavour to bring to paſs, what is not
„ fit for a wiſe and a good Man to propoſe;

„ that would be to make a very ill uſe of
„ your Friendſhip to me, and I would rather
„ be corrected myſelf in my own deſires,
„ than expoſe your Lordſhip on ſuch an
„ account. But I hope that they, who are
„ the ſupreme Directors of this matter under
„ God, may in their great wiſdom and good-
„ neſs judge, that it may prove as much to
„ their Honnour and ſafety too, to paſs
„ over this particular, as if they ſhould
„ purſue the ſtricteſt meaſures of Juſtice
„ in it. Though I am a Brother, if
„ I did not, upon the greateſt reflection
„ I can make, think I ſhould be of the
„ ſame opinion if I were none, I would
„ not preſs this matter upon you. For I
„ cannot but think, that the Queen would
„ do, and would be glad to avow it too,
„ a very great thing for the memory of
„ that Gentleman, ſo long in his Grave. It
„ is upon his account, I am begging of
„ your Lordſhip, to do all that's poſſible,
„ to preſerve every part and Branch and
„ member of his Family, from the leaſt
„ tranſient ſtain of Infamy & Reproach.
„ And if God was prevailed with by
„ *Abraham*, to have ſaved a whole Ci-
„ ty for the ſake of ten righteous Men, I
„ hope there may be as charitable an in-
„ clination, to ſpare the *debris* of our bro-
„ ken Family, for the ſake of him, who was
„ the Raiſer of it.

„ I ask your Lordſhip's pardon, for being
„ thus importunate; for I have great need

„ of

„ of your help, and I hope I ſhall have it
„ from you. Loſſes of many and good Friends
„ I have born, and ſubmitted with pati-
„ ence to the pleaſure of Almighty God:
„ But a Calamity of this nature, that I now
„ deprecate, has in it ſomething ſo fright-
„ ful, and on ſome accounts ſo unnatural;
„ that I beg you for God's ſake, from an an-
„ gry Man yourſelf, grow an Advocate for
„ me and for the Family on this account. I
„ am ever,

My Lord,

Your Lordſhip's moſt Faithful Humble
Servant,

ROCHESTER.

New Park, *March* 21. $16\frac{9}{91}$.

„ *My Lord,*

„ I Was warm, I confeſs, in the laſt Let-
„ ter I gave your Lordſhip the trouble
„ of, and I thank you for reproving the
„ vehemence of my ſtile, in your laſt of
„ the 28th; I am grown cooler, and ack-
„ nowledge my Fault; neither did I com-
„ mit it, with an apprehenſion that your
„ Lordſhip was inexorable, or that it would
„ be ſo much as needful to deſire your aſſi-
„ ſtance in that matter. But you may remem-
„ ber, you had uſed a word to me, when

„ you

„ you were here, *an Attainder*; that I
„ acknow ledge ſounded very harſh to
„ me, and when I had reflected a little
„ more upon it, as likewiſe that your Lord-
„ ſhip did not uſe to ſpeak by chance,
„ and conſequently that you had good
„ ground for what you ſaid, I own it
„ heated me all over; which made me ex-
„ preſs my thoughts to you, with more
„ tranſport than was fit, and I will ſay no
„ more of them, for fear of running into
„ new exceſſes. What your Lordſhip pro-
„ poſes for my Lord *Clarendon* to deſire,
„ is perfectly agreeable to my mind; but I
„ know not, whether it be not a little too
„ early, and that ſuch a Petition might be
„ preſented with a better grace, if he were
„ once out of the *Tower* upon Bail, than
„ it would be while he is under this cloſe
„ confinement. But as your Lordſhip ſays,
„ the Affair of *Mons* muſt for the preſent
„ put a ſtop to every Man's private thoughts,
„ for that is a matter of ſuch vaſt im-
„ portance to the Publick, that it is but
„ very fit, that all particular conſiderations
„ ſhould give way to it, and wait the deter-
„ mination of that great Point; I cannot
„ but believe the *French* are Maſters of it be-
„ fore now, becauſe all the Letters, that came
„ by the laſt Poſt, that I could hear of,
„ looked upon it, as a thing impracticable
„ to relieve it; but we have had no Let-
„ ters ſince *Saturday*. What the *French* will
„ do next, whether ſend their Men into

„ Quar-

„ Quarters for two Months, or try to fol-
„ low their Blow, is what Men are now
„ moſt anxious about. One of my old
„ Friends, with whom of late I have re-
„ newed my acquaintance, ſays upon all
„ theſe mighty occaſions, *Prudens futuri*
„ *temporis exitum Caliginoſa nocte premit*
„ *Deus, Ridetque ſi mortalis ultra fas trepi-*
„ *dat.* But I confeſs to you, I cannot be
„ quite ſo overcome with Philoſophy, as
„ not to be concerned before-hand, at
„ what this dark night is to bring forth.
„ One private concern, in the midſt of all
„ theſe publick ones, has given me a great
„ deal of uneaſineſs, and I doubt not will
„ do ſo to your Lordſhip, when I tell you
„ how very ill my Lady *Ranelagh* has been
„ theſe two or three days, with a Fever,
„ which has almoſt quite deſtroyed her;
„ I am afraid ſtill for her: the laſt night
„ ſhe had a little reſt; but ſhe is ſo weak,
„ and, you know, of late has been ſo very
„ tender, that I am in great pain for her.
„ I know your Lordſhip will be troubled
„ to loſe a very good Friend and humble
„ Servant of your own, as well as a moſt
„ wonderful good Perſon, to all that knew
„ her. For my own part, I know no body
„ alive, to whom I have ſo many Obli-
„ gations, which I am ſorry to ſee how
„ little I can return, when there is moſt
„ need of ſerving her. Amongſt all her
„ favours, one that I ſhall never forget
„ was, her deſire and endeavours, not on-
„ ly

„ ly to renew for me the acquaintance I „ formerly had with your Lordſhip, but „ to knit it cloſer into a Friendſhip; in „ which I am always to own your Lord- „ ſhip's ready concurrence; and, I hope, „ I ſhall not fail, as faithfully to perform „ all the part, that belongs to,

My Lord,

Your Lordſhip's moſt faithful humble Servant,

ROCHESTER.

April the 2d, 1691.

Hitherto the Reader has view'd our Author, as a Divine, only in the private Character of a Miniſter in his Pariſh, a Profeſſor in his Chair, or a Preacher in his Lecture; but we muſt now obſerve his Conduct in a higher Function. As ſoon as the Seſſion of Parliament in 1689 was ended, he went down to his Dioceſe; where he formed ſuch a Plan, for executing the Duties of his Epiſcopal Office, as he ſeldom afterwards had occaſion to alter.

His Labours in his Dioceſe and Epiſcopal function.

His primary Viſitation could only be regulated, by the practice of his Predeceſſors, who contented themſelves with formal Triennial Viſitations of their Dioceſe, in which they uſed always to confirm; but when he perceived the hurry, the diſorder and noiſe, that attended theſe publick Meetings, he thought them wholly unfit for ſolemn Acts of

of Devotion: They ſeemed much properer, for the exerciſe of an *Ordinary*'s Juriſdiction according to Law, than for the performance of the more Chriſtian functions of a Biſhop: Theſe were inconſiſtent with that pomp and ſhew, which perhaps the other required. He had always looked upon *Confirmation*, as the likelieſt means of reviving a Spirit of Chriſtianity; if Men could be brought to conſider it, not as a meer Ceremony, but as an Act whereby a Man became a *Chriſtian* from his own choice; ſince upon attaining to the uſe of Reaſon, he thereby renewed for himſelf a Vow, which others had only made for him at Baptiſm. He wrote a ſhort *Directory*, containing proper Rules how to prepare the Youth upon ſuch occaſions; this he printed, and ſent copies of it, ſome Months beforehand, to the Miniſter of every Pariſh, where he intended to confirm. He every Summer took a Tour, for ſix Weeks or two Months, through ſome Diſtrict of his Biſhoprick, daily preaching and confirming from Church to Church, ſo as in the compaſs of three Years (beſides his formal Triennial Viſitation) to go through all the principal Livings in his Dioceſe. The Clergy, near the Places he paſſed through, generally attended on him; therefore, to avoid being burthenſome in theſe circuits, he entertained them all at his own charge. He likewiſe, for many years, entred into Conferences with them, upon the chief Heads of

Divi-

Divinity: One of which he uſually opened at their meeting, in a Diſcourſe that laſted near two hours; and then encouraged thoſe preſent, to ſtart ſuch Queſtions or Difficulties upon it, as occur'd to them. Four of theſe Diſcourſes againſt Infidelity, Socinianiſm, Popery and Schiſm, were printed in the Year 1694. When our Author had publiſhed his *Expoſition of the Thirty-nine Articles*, Conferences of this nature ſeemed in ſome meaſure needleſs: He therefore diſcontinued them, in order to apply himſelf wholly to the work of *Confirmation*. To be more uſeful in it, he diſpoſed his annual Progreſs, during the laſt ten years of his life, in the following manner. He went through five or ſix of the conſiderable Market-Towns every year: he fix'd himſelf for a whole week in each of them; and though he went out every morning, to preach and confirm in ſome Pariſh, within ſeven or eight miles of the place; yet at the Evening-Prayer, for ſix days together, he catechiſed the Youth of the Town, in the principal Church there, expounding to them ſome portion of the *Church Catechiſm* every day, 'till he had gone through the whole: And on *Sunday*, he confirmed thoſe, who had been thus examin'd and inſtructed, and then inviting them all to dine with him, he gave to each a uſeful Preſent of Books. As the Country flocked in, from all parts, to hear him, he was in hopes this would encourage the Cler-

Clergy to catechiſe more, and would raiſe an Emulation in Chriſtian Knowledge, among the inferiour ſort of People, who were ignorant to a ſcandal.

In the Intervals of Parliament, when the Biſhop was not upon this Progreſs, his uſual Reſidence was at *Salisbury*; there he preached the *Thurſday*'s Lecture, founded at *St. Thomas*'s Church, during the whole time of his ſtay; he likewiſe preached and confirmed every *Sunday* morning*, in ſome Church of that City, or of the neighbourhood round about it: And in the evening he had a Lecture in his own Chappel, to which great crouds reſorted, wherein he explained ſome portion of Scripture, out of the Goſpels and Epiſtles in the Liturgy. He generally came down from *London*, ſome days before *Lent*, on purpoſe to prepare the Youth of the two great Schools for Confirmation; by catechiſing them every week, during that ſeaſon, in the *Cathedral* Church, and inſtructing them in the

* He was ſo punctual in this, that no change of Weather could ever induce him, to diſappoint any Congregation where he was expected: And this aſſiduity had well nigh coſt him his life, in the year 1698. For having appointed to preach and confirm, at the Parish Church of *Dinton*, within twelve miles of *Salisbury*, on a prefixed *Sunday*; the Rains, that fell on that day, and for ſome days before, had ſo ſwelled a Brook, which he was to croſs, that his Coach was overturned in the water, and his own life hardly ſaved by a Miller, who jumped in and drew the Biſhop out of the water: for which ſeaſonable ſervice, our Author paid him a yearly gratuity all the reſt of his life.

the ſame manner, as he did thoſe in the other Towns of his Dioceſe. And to render this Task of inſtruction more eaſy to the reſt of his Clergy, he at length publiſhed an *Explanation of the Church-Catechiſm* in the Year 1710.

The Biſhop's Conſiſtorial Court, being much cry'd out againſt, as a Grievance both to the Clergy and Laity, he endeavoured to reform it, and for ſome years went thither in perſon; but tho' he might do ſome little good by this attendance, it was ſo little, that he at laſt gave it over; for the true foundation of Complaints was the dilatory courſe of Proceedings, and the exorbitant Fees, which the Biſhop had no Authority to correct: Nay, he could not even diſcharge poor Suitors, who were oppreſs'd there with vexatious Proſecutions, any otherwiſe than by paying their fees himſelf, as he frequently did.

No part of the Epiſcopal Office was more ſtrictly attended to by him, than the Examination of thoſe, who came for Orders: in this matter the Law has left the Biſhop entirely at liberty, to admit or refuſe. He never turned them over to the care of a Chaplain or Archdeacon, farther than to try their skill in the learned Languages. He examined them himſelf as to the proofs of the Chriſtian Religion, the Authority of the Scriptures, and the nature of the Goſpel-Covenant. If they were deficient in thoſe, he dimiſs'd them at once with proper directions

rections how to be better prepared for a ſecond Trial: But if they were competently knowing in theſe eſſential points, he went through the other Heads of Divinity with leſs ſtrictneſs. When he was once ſatisfied with their capacity, he next directed his diſcourſe to their Conſcience: He laid before them the baſeneſs of taking up a Sacred Profeſſion, merely for the lucre or ſubſiſtence it might afford; he gave them a diſtinct view of all the branches of the *Paſtoral Care*, (of which he publiſhed a Treatiſe, for the uſe of his Dioceſe, in 1692;) and endeavoured ſtrongly to diſſuade them from entring into Holy Orders, unleſs they were firmly reſolved to perform all the Duties of their Function; more particularly to lead ſuch Lives, as might not contradict the Doctrines, they were to teach. A day or two before Ordination, he ſubmitted all thoſe whom he had accepted, to the Examination of the Dean and Prebendaries, that ſo he might have their approbation.

In the admiſſion of Preſentees, he could not be ſo ſtrict; the Law having in ſome meaſure taken the Judgment of their qualifications out of the Ordinary; yet in this he went unuſual lengths, of which I ſhall mention one ſingular inſtance*. In the lat-

* This I had from Mr. *Mackney*, as a fact well known to himſelf, and to ſome others now alive.

latter part of the Reign of Queen *Anne*, the Lord Chancellor prefented the younger Son of a noble Family in *Oxfordſhire* to a Parſonage within his Dioceſe, which was in the Gift of the Crown. Upon trial, our Author found him ſo ignorant, that he refuſed to inſtitute him; the Miniſtry threaten'd him with a Law-Suit, but finding him reſolute, they at length acquieſced under the refuſal. Thereupon the Biſhop ſent for the young Gentleman, and told him, "„ That as his Patrons had given up the „ conteſt, and he had no deſign to do him „ any perſonal injury, if he could prevail „ on his Friends, to keep the Benefice va„ cant, he himſelf would undertake the „ charge of qualifying him for it." Accordingly he took ſuch happy pains in his inſtruction, that ſome Months after, the Preſentee paſs'd Examination with Applauſe, and had Inſtitution given him to the Living.

As the *Paſtoral Care*, and the admitting none to it, who were not duly qualified, was always uppermoſt in his thoughts, he concluded that he could not render a more uſeful ſervice to Religion, to the Church, and more eſpecially ao his own Dioceſe, than by forming under his eye a number of Divines, well inſtructed in all the articles of their duty. He reſolved therefore, at his own charge, to maintain a ſmall Nurſery of Students in Divinity at *Salisbury*, who might fol-

follow their Studies, till he ſhould be able to provide for them. They were ten in number, to each of whom he allowed a Salary of thirty Pounds a-year They were admitted to him once every day, to give an account of their Progreſs in learning, to propoſe to him ſuch difficulties as they met with, in the courſe of their reading, and to hear a Lecture from him, upon ſome ſpeculative or practical Point of Divinity, or on ſome part of the Paſtoral Function, which laſted above an hour: During the Biſhop's abſence, the learned Dr. *Whitby* ſupplied his place, in overlooking and directing their Studies. By this means, our Author educated ſeveral young Clergymen, who proved an honour to the Church; but as this came to be conſidered as a preſent proviſion, with ſure expectations of a future ſettlement, he was continually importuned, and ſometimes impoſed upon, as to the Perſons recommended to be of this number: And the Foundation itſelf was ſo maliciouſly exclaimed at, as a deſign'd affront upon the method of Education of *Oxford*, that he was prevailed upon, after ſome years, to lay it wholly aſide.

Our Author was a warm and conſtant Enemy to *Pluralities* of Livings, not indeed where the two Churches lay near each other, and were but poorly endowed, for in that caſe he rather encouraged them; as knowing the *Labourer was worthy of his Hire*. But whenſoever *Non-Reſidence* was

the conſequence of a Plurality, he uſed his utmoſt endeavours to prevent it, and in ſome caſes even hazarded a Suſpenſion, rather than give Inſtitution. In his Charges to the Clergy, he exclaimed againſt Pluralities, as a ſacrilegious Robbery of the Revenues of the Church; a remarkable effect of his zeal upon this ſubject may not be improper to be here related *. In his firſt Viſitation at *Salisbury*, he urged the Authority of St. *Bernard*, who being conſulted by one of his Followers, whether he might not accept of two Benefices, reply'd, „ And „ how will you be able to ſerve them „ both?" „ I intend (anſwered the Prieſt) „ to officiate in one of them by a Deputy." „ Will your Deputy be damn'd for you „ too? (cry'd the Saint.) Believe me, you „ may ſerve your Cure by Proxy, but you „ muſt be damn'd in Perſon." This expreſſion ſo affected Mr. *Kelſey*, a pious and worthy Clergyman there preſent, that he immediately reſigned the Rectory of *Bemerton*, worth Two Hundred Pounds a-year, which he then held with one of greater value. Nor was this Chriſtian act of ſelf-denial without its reward; for though their Principles in Church matters were very oppoſite, the Biſhop conceived ſuch an eſteem for him, from this action, that he not only prevailed with the Chapter to elect him a Canon, but likewiſe made

* This fact was told me by Mr. *Waſteſield*, and is well known at *Salisbury*.

made him Archdeacon of *Sarum*, and gave him one of the beſt Prebends in the Church.

In the point of *Reſidence*, our Author was ſo ſtrict, that he never would permit his own Chaplains to attend upon him, after they were once preferred to a Cure of Souls, but obliged them to be conſtantly reſident at their Livings. Indeed he conſidered himſelf, as under the ſame obligation, as Paſtor of the whole Dioceſe, and never would be abſent from it, but during his neceſſary attendance on Parliament; from which, as ſoon as the principal buſineſs of the Nation was diſpatch'd, he always obtained leave to depart; in order to return to his Function. And though King *William*, upon his going over to *Ireland* or *Flanders*, always enjoin'd him to attend upon Queen *Mary*, and aſſiſt her with his faithful counſel on all emergencies; yet he would not, upon ſuch occaſions, accept of Lodgings at *Whitehall*, but hired a Houſe at *Windſor*, in order to be within his own Biſhoprick, and yet near enough to the Court, to pay his Duty twice a-week or oftener, if buſineſs required it.

His univerſal Principle of Toleration extends to Nonjurors.

No Principle was more deeply rooted in him, than that of *Toleration*; it was not confined to any Sect or Nation, it was as univerſal as Chriſtianity itſelf: He exerted it in favour of a Nonjuring Meeting-houſe at *Salisbury*, which he obtained the Royal permiſſion to connive at; and when the Preacher there, Dr. *Beach*, by a ſeditious and

treaſonable Sermon, had incurred the Sentence of the Law, our Author not only ſaved him from puniſhment, but even procured his pardon, without the terms of a publick Recantation, upon which it was firſt granted; as may be collected from the following Letters, the one from the Earl of *Nottingham*, then Secretary of State, the other from Dr. *Beach* himſelf.

„ *My Lord* * *Whitehall, 29 March 1692.*

„ I Have acquainted the Queen, at the „ Cabinet Council, with what your „ Lordſhip writes in behalf of Dr. *Beach*; „ and though her Majeſty is always „ inclined to ſhew mercy, and eſpecially to ſuch as your Lordſhip recommends to her favour; yet ſince the „ Crime, and Scandal of it, has been „ very publick, her Majeſty thinks the „ Acknowledgment of it ſhould be ſo too: „ And therefore would have him make it in „ the Church. When this is done, your Lordſhip's interceſſion will eaſily prevail. I am, „ with great Reſpect.

My Lord,

Your Lordſhip's moſt humble and faithful Servant,

NOTTINGHAM.

„ *My*

* The Original is in the Editor's hands.

„ *My Lord,**

„ WITH all due deference of Honour,
„ and with all the reſpectful regard,
„ that can be correſpondent to the no
„ leſs generous, than acceptable meſſage,
„ which I received from your Lordſhip by
„ Dr. *Geddes*, I humbly tender this to your
„ Lordſhip, hoping it may be favourably
„ received, in lieu of my perſonal atten-
„ dance, which ſhall be readily paid (as it is
„ due) at any time. Dr. *Geddes* has delivered
„ me the deſirable tidings of your Lordſhip's
„ free reſolution, to reſcue me, from the
„ farther proſecution of that unhappy Ver-
„ dict, I labour under. It is my deſire,
„ being freed from this troubleſome ſtorm,
„ to live in peace and quiet, without diſ-
„ turbance of the Government in general,
„ and of any perſon in particular. And I
„ cannot but deeply reſent your obliging
„ readineſs to relieve me, becauſe it is not
„ clogged with any bitter conditions or re-
„ ſerves, that would leſſen the favour.
„ What your Lordſhip has reſolved, is
„ what I humbly deſire, and do not doubt
„ but your Lordſhip will purſue. The ſoo-
„ ner the favour can be accompliſhed, and
„ with the leſs noiſe before term, the more
„ it

* The Orginal is in the Editor's hands.

„ it will be endeared to, and challenge all gra-
„ titude from,

My Lord,

Your much obliged and obedient Servant,

WM. BEACH.

Yet when this Spirit of *Moderation*, of which the Nonjurors felt the good effects, was extended to the Diſſenters, our Author's Enemies repreſented him, as betraying the Church into their hands; though he was really taking the moſt effectual means to bring them over, not indeed by compulſion but by the more Chriſtian methods of Charity and Perſuaſion: In which he was ſo ſucceſsful, that many Diſſenting Families in his dioceſe, were by him brought over to the Communion of our Church in which they ſtill continue; and of two Presbyterian Preachers, who were well ſupported when he firſt came to *Salisbury*, one was ſoon after obliged to quit the Place, and the other but poorly ſubſiſted in it.

His Scheme for augmenting Poor Livings in his own Dioceſe.

He perceived that the chief ſtrength of the Sectaries lay in the Market-Towns; the Livings there were moſt commonly in the Gift of the Lord Chancellor; and as the Lord *Somers*, during his enjoyment of the Seals, left the Nomination to thoſe in the Dioceſe of *Sarum*, to the Biſhop; he endeavoured

voured to place in them none but learned, pious and moderate Divines, as being the beſt qualified to prevent the growth of Schiſm But as theſe Benefices were generally ſmall, and a poor Church will be too often ſerved by as poor a Clerk, our Author determin'd to obviate this difficulty, by beſtowing upon theſes Cures the Prebends in his Gift as they became vacant; and till ſuch a vacancy happen'd, out of his own Income he allowed the Miniſter of every ſuch Church a Penſion of Twenty Pounds a-year *: When the Prebend it ſelf was conferred upon him, the Biſhop inſiſted on his giving a Bond to reſign it, if ever he quitted the Living. Though this matter had been laid before the moſt eminent Prelates and Divines of our Church, as well as the moſt learned among the Canoniſts, who highly approved the deſign; yet it was ſo warmly oppoſed by ſome of the Clergy, that in order to raiſe no farther ſtrife in the Church, our Author was prevailed on to relinquiſh this Project, and give up all the Bonds he had taken. But as he could not, without the tendereſt concern, behold the deſtitute condition of theſe poor Benefices, moſt of which were attended with the largeſt Cure of Souls; ſo his diſappointment in this Scheme he had formed for his own Biſhoprick, only

* This appears from his Steward's Accounts, and was confirmed to me by Mr. *Waſteſield*.

only gave occaſion to a more univerſal Plan, which he projected for the improvement of all the ſmall Livings in *England*, and which was liable to no exception. This he preſs'd forward with ſo much ſucceſs, that it terminated at length in an Act of Parliament, paſs'd in the ſecond Year of Queen *Anne, for the Augmentation of the Maintenance of the poor Clergy.*

His Sheme four augmenting all the poor Livings in *England.*

He had firſt laid this Propoſal before Queen *Mary*, who had undertaken to obtain the King's Approbation and Conſent; after her Death, the proſpect of Peace in 1696, and the actual Concluſion of it in 1697, ſeemed to furniſh a proper opportunity, for offering the ſame Scheme to King *William*, which he did by the two following Memorials.

MEMORIAL *concerning the Firſt Fruits and Tenths. Given in to the King in* January 1696 *.

„ THE Tenths and Firſt Fruits were
„ firſt laid on by Popes, on pretence
„ of ſupporting the Holy War; in the
„ twenty-ſixth Year of the Reign of King
„ *Henry* the Eighth, theſe were given to
„ the Crown; and ſince that time have
„ been granted away in Penſions, by dor-
„ mant

* The Memorials in the Bishop's own hand, with a Memorandum when he delivered them, are in the Editor's hands.

„ mant Warrants. They are now in the „ hands of the Duke of *St. Albans*, Coun- „ teſs of *Plimouth*, Counteſs of *Briſtol*, Earl „ of *Bath*, Earl of *Oxford* and a few others. „ This Revenue may juſtly be called in „ queſtion, as unlawful and ſacrilegious in „ its nature; the applying it to a good uſe „ is the beſt way to juſtify it.

„ The condition of many Livings in „ this Kingdom is moſt miſerable; many „ have not Twenty Pounds, and in ſome „ places, three of them put together do „ not amount to Forty Pounds a-year. A „ poor Clergyman may be ſcandalous, but „ he muſt be contemptible and ignorant. „ To this, in a great meaſure, we owe the „ Atheiſm and Impiety, the Sects and Divi- „ ſions, that are ſpread over the Nation.

„ It would be a noble Demonſtration, „ both of Zeal for the Honour of God „ and Religion, and Affection for the Church „ of *England*, if the King would appro- „ priate this Revenue, to the raiſing of „ the Livings in this Nation to ſome juſt „ proportion, beginning at thoſe in Cor- „ porations, and thoſe within the King's „ Gift, but not excluding others, upon „ condition that the King ſhall have his „ turn in preſenting, in proportion to the „ Augmentation that ſhall be made by this „ Proviſion.

„ A Corporation might be ſettled, as was „ from the Reign of Queen *Elizabeth* down „ to that of *Charles* the Firſt, with power

„ to

„ to receive the Gifts of charitable Perſons, „ to the ſame pious end: And all Biſhops, „ Deans and Chapters might be obliged „ to pay towards it a Fourth or Fifth of „ of every Fine that they received.

„ This, by the Bleſſing of God, would „ make the concerns of Religion and of „ the Church put on another face, it „ would much raiſe his Majeſty's Name „ and Character in the preſent, and in all „ ſucceeding Ages; by this the King gives „ away nothing, that is in his own poſſes- „ ſion; he only gives away the power of „ granting ſuch new Penſions, as may be „ vacant in his time. And there is little „ doubt to be made, (beſides a bleſſing „ from God, which may be expected upon „ ſo noble a deſign) that this would be „ made up to the Crown by Parliament: „ And would alſo give ſuch an impreſſion „ of the King, as would have a good effect „ on all his affairs.

A Second MEMORIAL *concerning the Tenths and Firſt Fruits. Given in to the King in* December 1697.

„ IT is humbly propoſed, that his Majeſ- „ ty would be pleaſed to conſider, how

„ pro-

„ proper it will be at this time, to declare
„ his Reſolution of applying the Firſt Fruits
„ and Tenths to mending the ſtate of the
„ poor Livings in *England*.

„ The Peace being now concluded, this
„ will be a noble beginning of his Maje-
„ ſty's Reign in Peace, and a ſuitable
„ return to God, for his great Bleſſings on
„ his Royal Perſon and Affairs; it will gain
„ him the hearts of all true Friends of the
„ Church of *England*; and ſince the Bur-
„ roughs are generally the worſt ſerved,
„ their Livings being univerſally very ſmall,
„ this may probably have a great effect on all
„ the King's affairs perhaps on the ſucceed-
„ ing Elections of Parliament.

„ If his Majeſty be reſolved to do it, it
„ is humbly ſuggeſted, that he would de-
„ clare his Reſolution in the Treaſury, and
„ appoint the Commiſſioners to acquaint
„ the Houſe of Commons with it, who
„ will no doubt very quickly make it
„ up to the Crown. Upon this, it is pro-
„ poſed, that the King will order a Com-
„ miſſion for managing this Fund, andmak-
„ ing it moſt effectual to the end intended
„ by it.

„ The Perſons proper for ſuch a Com-
„ miſſion, would be the two Archbiſhops,
„ with two other Biſhops, the Lord Chan-
„ cellor, the Lord Privy-Seal, the two Se-
„ cretaries of State, the firſt Commiſſioner
„ of the Treaſury, the Chancellor of the

„ Ex-

„ Exchequer, the two Chief Juſtices, the „ Chief Baron, and the King's Attorney-„ General."

Though this Propoſal was highly acceptable to the King; though it was ſtrongly ſeconded by the Princeſs of *Denmark*, who deſired copies to be given her of the two foregoing Memorials; yet underhand it met with ſuch oppoſition amongſt the Miniſtry, as for a time obſtructed the execution of it. The Biſhop would not however be diſcouraged in it; but renewed his ſollicitations upon this head, ſo powerfully, in the Year 1701, that nothing but the Death of King *William* could have prevented its then taking effect. He had concerted his meaſures upon this occaſion, with the Earl of *Godolphin* (who afterwards carried this Deſign into Execution) and with the Lord *Somers*, whoſe Letter upon that Subject I ſhall here inſert,

„ *My Lord.** 22 *Novemb.* 1701.

„ I Acknowlege the Honnour of your „ Lordſhip's Letter of the 17th, with „ great thankfulneſs; I wiſh it may lie in „ my power to contribute to the excellent „ Deſign, you propoſe; no Man will enter „ into it more willingly, nor ſhall labour „ in it more heartily. The Point of the „ Firſt Fruits and Tenths is what I have pro-

* The Original is in the Editor's hands.

„ propoſed ſeveral times, with much ear-
„ neſtneſs, but without ſucceſs. When I
„ have the happineſs of ſeeing your Lord-
„ ſhip, we ſhall, I hope, diſcourſe at large
„ upon the whole ſubject. In the mean
„ time allow me to aſſure you, that I am with
„ great and ſincere reſpect,

My Lord,

Your Lordſhip's moſt obedient humble Servant,

SOMERS.

Having thus given a ſhort account of every principal part of our Author's conduct, that properly relates to his Epiſcopal Character, of which I thought the Reader would be beſt able to judge, if it were laid before him in one general view, without any ſtrict regard to the ſeries of time; I ſhall now return to the thread of my narration, by relating the other remarkable Incidents of his life, in the order, in which they happened.

The Death of Queen *Mary* and of Archbiſhop *Tillotſon*.

The Year 1694 proved greatly unfortunate to him, I might have ſaid to the whole Nation, by the death of Archbiſhop *Tillotſon*; a Name too well known to need an Encomium; whoſe Funeral Sermon our Author preach'd, and whoſe Vindication he undertook, againſt a Writer, who had virulently attack'd his Memory. This great

Loſs to the Church was ſoon after followed by a greater, that of the excellent Queen MARY, who had always honoured our Author with a high degree of Favour and Confidence. The ſtrong Impreſſion her uncommon Talents and ſhining qualities had made upon him, occaſioned that *Eſſay on her Character*, which he publiſh'd in the Year 1695.

He is one of the Eccleſiaſtical Commiſſion to recommend to Preferments.

During her Life, the Affairs & Promotions in the Church had wholly paſs'd through her hands; it was an Article of Government, for which the King thought himſelf unqualified, yet was unwilling to commit to the care of his Miniſters: Upon her Death therefore, a Commiſſion was granted to the two Archbiſhops, to our Author, and to three other Prelates; whereby they, or any three of them, were appointed to recommend to all Biſhopricks, Deanries, or other vacant Preferments in the Church, ſignifying the ſame to his Majeſty, by writing under their hands: And during the King's abſence beyond Sea, they were empowered, of their own Authority, to preſent to all Benefices in the Gift of the Crown, that were under the Value of an Hundred and Forty Pounds a-year. A like Commiſſion was granted in the Year 1700, and the Biſhop of *Salisbury* continued ſtill to be of the Number. It would be tedious here to enumerate the ſeveral Marks King *William* gave him, of his

his Friendſhip, during the whole Courſe of his Reign; but though he obtained of his Majeſty Employments, Penſions and Gratuities for others, even to the value of Ten Thouſand Pounds to *One Perſon* now living; yet there was not one ſingle inſtance, wherein he ſollicited a Favour for himſelf or his Family: On the contrary, he declined Preferment when it was offered to him.

Is made Preceptor to the Duke of *Glouceſter*.

In the Year 1698, when it became neceſſary to ſettle the Duke of *Glouceſter*'s Family, the King ſent the Earl of *Sunderland*, with a Meſſage to the Princeſs of *Denmarck*, acquainting her, That he put „ the whole management of her Son's „ Houſehold into her hands, but that he „ owed the Care of his Education to himſelf and his People, and therefore would „ name the Perſons for that purpoſe." Accordingly the Earl of *Marlborough* being nominated his Governour, the Biſhop of *Salisbury* was appointed his Preceptor. He was then retired into his Dioceſe, having lately loſt his Wife by the Small Pox. He took that occaſion therefore to wave the Offer of this important Charge; though he was aſſured, the Princeſs had teſtify'd her Approbation of the King's choice. He wrote to the Earl of *Sunderland*, to uſe his Intereſt, that he might be excuſed, and in return received from him the following Letter.

Which he endeavours to decline.

„ *My Lord,* *

June 29

„ I Am extremely troubled for your Loſs, „ it being, by all that I have heard, a „ very great one: But you muſt not leave „ ſerving the Publick, upon any private „ Conſideration. I intend to be in Town „ next Week, and if I have any Credit at „ all, you may be aſſured that you ſhall „ be ſent for, and ſhall come thither, un- „ leſs you will fall out with all your Friends, „ and with the King in the firſt place. I am, „ with great truth,

My Lord,

Your moſt faithful humble Servant,

SUNDERLAND.

Our Author wrote likewiſe to his Friend Archbiſhop *Tenniſon*, deſiring him to wait on the King in his Name, and intreat his Majeſty, to allow him to decline this Employment: The Archbiſhop replied, and offered many Arguments to perſuade him to accept of it; which only produced a ſecond Letter, ſtronger than the former, and to the ſame purpoſe: To which his Grace, by King *William*'s Direction, returned the following Anſwer.

„ *My*

* The original Letter is in the Editor's hands.

„ *My Lord,* * *Lambeth, June* 28, 1698.

„ I Received your Second, in which you „ ſeem to inſiſt on the contents of the „ Firſt; upon that account, I waited on the „ King, not being willing to decline doing, „ what you ſo earneſtly preſs'd. The King „ expreſs'd himſelf with great Tenderneſs „ upon this Subject; he commanded me „ to let you underſtand, that he had ſent „ for you, before this time, if this Misfor- „ tune had not happened; and that he ſtill „ deſires you to come, as ſoon as with de- „ cency you can. He looks upon you, as a „ Divine, who in ſuch caſes had comfor- „ ted many, and thinks it will look beſt, „ not to ſuffer ſuch a croſs, to get ſuch pow- „ er over you, as to make you decline „ ſo publick a Service. He ſpoke to this „ effect, without my urging my private „ opinion, which is, what it was in my „ firſt. I heartily pray for you, I pity you „ as my own Brother, but I cannot bring „ myſelf in this to be of your Lordſhip's „ Opinion. It is true, if no ſteps had been „ made in this Affair, your excuſe would „ the eaſier have made its way; but ſeeing „ things are ſo far advanced, it ſeems not „ proper to go back. If upon this, that „ hopeful Prince ſhall fall into ſuch hands,

„ as

* The Original is in the Editor's hands.

„ as are unfit, your Lordſhip would then „ reflect, upon your having declined the „ Service, with pain and grief. Pray next „ Poſt, let me have ſome Anſwer, our good „ Maſter the King may be pleaſed with. I am,

My Lord,

Your affectionate Brother,

THO. CANTUAR'.

As the reſt of the Biſhop's Friends concurred in the ſame ſtrain, earneſtly preſſing him not to refuſe a Station, wherein he might do his Country ſuch ſignal Service, as in the right Education of the Duke of *Glouceſter*; he thought it might be conſtrued Obſtinacy not to ſubmit. He therefore ſignified his Compliance, in his Anſwer to the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*; who thereupon wrote him another Letter, I ſhall here inſert.

„ *My Lord,* *

Kenſington, July 4. 1698.

„ LATE laſt Night the King ſpoke a- „ gain about your coming up; the „ time you mention (*Friday* Fortnight) he „ thinks much too long; he therefore com-

„ manded

* The Original is in the Editor's hands.

„ manded me to ſend an Expreſs to you, in
„ order to your coming up as ſoon as poſ-
„ ſibly you can: He having time, little en-
„ ough to ſettle that Matter, before his
„ going beyond Sea; which will not now
„ be long; becauſe the Parliament may
„ ſpeedily end, perhaps this day. He con-
„ ſiders very graciouſly the Commendable-
„ neſs of your Submiſſion in theſe Circum-
„ ſtances, which is indeed worthy of you.
„ Pray haſten as much as you poſſibly can,
„ and may God bring you ſafely hither.
„ I am

Your affectionate Brother,

THO. CANTUAR'.

P. S. *The Parliament riſes to-morrow, and the King goes ſoon to* Windſor, *where you may wait on his Majeſty.*

† When our Author, upon his Arrival at *Windſor*, had his firſt Audience of the King, he aſſured his Majeſty, it was no longer his intention to decline ſo honourable an Employment, as the educating a Prince ſo nearly related to the Crown, ſince his Royal Maſter thought him worthy of that Truſt; but as the Diſcharge of his Duty in this Sta-

† This Fact was related to the Editor by Mr. *Mackney*, who then attended the Biſhop to *Windſor*, and had it from his own Mouth.

Station must confine him constantly to Court, which was inconsistent with his Episcopal Function, he desired leave to resign his Bishoprick. The King was much surprised at the Proposal, to which he would by no means consent. However, finding our Author persisted in it, he was at length prevailed on, to agree, that the Duke should reside all the Summer at *Windsor*, and that the Bishop should have ten weeks allowed him every Year, to visit the other parts of his Diocese.

The method he pursued in the Duke of *Gloucester*'s Education, and the amazing progress made in it, during the short time that Prince was under his care, are mentioned in the History. To which I shall only add, that he conducted himself in such a manner, that the Princess of *Denmark* ever after retained a peculiar Regard for him, of which he received some sensible marks, when she came to the Throne, even at times, when he was engaged in a publick opposition to the measures of her Ministers.

His Marriage with Mrs. *Berkeley*.

The assiduous Attendance our Author was obliged to, whilst he was Preceptor to the Duke, and the tender age of his own Children, made it requisite to look out for a proper Mistress to his Family. He fix'd upon Mrs. *Berkeley*, a Lady of uncommon de grees of Knowledge, Piety and Virtue; as may appear from *her Method of Devotion*, which bore several impressions in her life-time; and was reprinted

printed after her death, with an account of her Life, by Dr. *Goodwyn*, (the late Archbiſhop of *Caſhels* in *Ireland*) which renders it unneceſſary here to enlarge upon her Character.

In the Year 1699, our Author publiſh'd *his Expoſition of the Thirty-Nine Articles of the Church of* England. He was firſt engaged in this Undertaking by Queen *Mary*, who had ſo highly approved of his *Four Diſcourſes to his Clergy*, and his Treatiſe of *the Paſtoral Care*, that She, as well as Archbiſhop *Tillotſon*, judged no Man ſo proper as himſelf, to render this important ſervice to the Church. At their intreaty therefore, he undertook this laborious task, which he perform'd in leſs than the compaſs of a year, though he kept it by him five years, for Correction. It was firſt reviſed, and in many places altered by Dr. *Tillotſon*, whoſe opinion of this performance will beſt be learnt from one of his own Letters. *He writes an Expoſition of the Thirty nine Articles.*

My Lord, *

Lambeth-Houſe, October 23, 1694.

„ I Have with great pleaſure and Satis-
„ faction read over the great Volume,
„ you ſent me; and am aſtoniſh'd to ſee
„ ſo

* An atteſted Copy of this Letter, in the hand-writing of the preſent Archbiſhop of *Dublin*, is in the Editor's hands.

„ ſo vaſt a Work, begun and finiſh'd in ſo „ ſhort a time. In the Article of the Tri- „ nity you have ſaid all, that I think can „ be ſaid upon ſo obſcure and difficult an „ Argument. The *Socinians* have juſt now „ publiſhed an Anſwer to us all; but I „ have not had a ſight of it. The nega- „ tive Articles againſt the Church of *Rome*, „ you have very fully explained, and with „ great Learning and Judgment. Concer- „ ning theſe, you will meet with no op- „ poſition amongſt ourſelves. The greateſt „ danger was to be apprehended from the „ Points in difference between the *Calvi- „ niſts* and *Remonſtrants*, in which you „ have ſhewn, not only great skill and „ moderation, but great prudence in con- „ tenting yourſelf, to repreſent both ſides „ impartially, without any poſitive decla- „ ration of your own Judgment. The „ account given of *Athanaſius*'s Creed, „ ſeems, to me no-wiſe ſatisfactory; I wiſh „ we were well rid of it. I pray God „ long to preſerve your Lordſhip, to do „ more ſuch ſervices to the Church. I „ am,

My Lord,

Yours moſt affectionately,

JO. CANT'.

This Work was afterwards peruſed and ap-

approved by Archbiſhop *Tenniſon*, Archbiſhop *Sharp*, Biſhop *Stillingfleet*, *Patrick*, *Lloyd*, *Hall* and *Williams*: The laſt of theſe ſtrongly recommended, the conſidering them only as Articles of Peace, in which Men were bound to acquieſce without contradiction; not as Articles of Faith, which they were obliged to believe. There might perhaps be reaſon to wiſh, that they had only been impoſed as ſuch, but there was nothing in our Conſtitution to warrant an Expoſitor, in giving that ſenſe to them. The Book likewiſe paſs'd through the hands of many learned Men in both *Univerſities*, and was generally applauded. Upon its firſt appearance in print, it was univerſally well received; thoſe, who had been employed to criticiſe every Work the Biſhop had publiſhed for ſome years, were ſilent as to This. Indeed when the Convocation met, and the two Houſes were warmly engaged in diſputes, relating to their reſpective Privileges, in which our Author bore a conſiderable ſhare; the Lower Houſe, in reſentment, brought up a general cenſure of his *Expoſition*, but refuſed to point out the particulars, upon which it was grounded: Though the Upper Houſe remonſtrated, how neceſſary that was, in order to enable them to concur in the Cenſure, which they could not pretend to do, till they were informed of the reaſons for it.

For five or ſix years before his death, our

our Author grew more abſtracted from the World, than the ſituation he had been in, during the former parts of his life, had permitted. To avoid the diſtraction of uſeleſs viſits, he ſettled in *St. John's Court* in *Clerkenwell*, and kept up only an intercourſe with his moſt ſelect and intimate Acquaintance: Their Names will be an Honour to his Memory, and therefore I beg leave to mention the moſt conſiderable amonſt them. Such were the late Dukes of *Marlborough*, *Newcaſtle* and *Shrewsbury*; the Earls of *Godolphin*, *Cowper* and *Halifax*; the Lords *Somers* and *Pelham*: And the preſent Dutcheſs Dowager of *Marlborough*, the Dukes of *Montroſe* and *Roxburgh*; the Lord *Townſhend*, the Lord *King*, the Maſter of the Rolls Sir *Joſeph Jekyll*, the Lord Chief Juſtice *Eyre*, and Mr. *Baillie* of *Jervisſwood*, who, as he was his near Relation, ſo he always lived with him in the friendſhip and freedom of a Brother.

His Diligence in his Calling whilſt in *London*.

I have ſaid nothing in relation to the part our Author acted in Parliament, in Convocation, or in the ſeveral matters of State, wherein he was conſulted & employed; this is fully and impartially ſet forth in the Hiſtory itſelf. Yet I ought to inform the Reader, that the Biſhop's neceſſary attendance on the Houſe of Lords, in the Winter ſeaſon, was not a means of abating his Diligence in the Duties of his Calling, though it diverted the Exerciſe of it, from the

the proper ſcene, his Dioceſe: For whilſt he ſtaid in Town, he failed not of preaching every *Sunday* Morning, in ſome Church or other in *London*; and as he was much followed, he was generally engaged for Charity Sermons, at which he himſelf was always a liberal Contributor: In the *Sunday* Evening, he had a Lecture in his own Houſe, upon ſome ſelect portion of Scripture; to which many perſons of Diſtinction reſorted, though at firſt it was only intended, for the benefit of his own Family.

As he lived to ſee the turn, which the Affairs of *Great Britain*, I might ſay of *Europe*, took upon the Death of Queen *Anne*, for whom he always had the higheſt perſonal Veneration, but whom he thought unwarily engaged in Meaſures, which might have proved fatal: I need not ſay, with what comfort he ſaw a Succeſſion take place, of which he himſelf had been the *firſt Mover*; and a Family eſtabliſhed, in whoſe intereſts he had been ſo ſtedfaſt and zealous, and by whom he had been ſo much entruſted. He publiſhed a *Third Volume*, as a Supplement to his two former, *of the Hiſtory of the Reformation*, at the time of his late Majeſty's Arrival in *England*, to whom it was dedicated. And as if his life had only been prolonged to ſee this great Work compleat, and the Proteſtant Intereſt in a fair proſpect of Security, he died ſoon after.

He writes a Supplement to his *Hiſtory of the Reformation.*

Thus

His Domeſtick Character.

Thus I have endeavoured to give ſome Account of our Author's Behaviour, in all the different Stations he paſs'd through in Publick: it may be expected, I ſhould ſay ſomething of him, in Domeſtick Life.

His Time how employed.

His Time, the only Treaſure of which he ſeemed covetous, was employed in one regular and uniform manner. His conſtant health permitted him to be an early riſer, he was ſeldom in bed later than five a-clock in the morning during the Summer, or than ſix in the Winter. Private Meditation took up the two firſt hours and the laſt half-hour of the day. His firſt and laſt appearance to his Family was, at the Morning and Evening Prayers, which were always read by himſelf, though his Chaplains were preſent. He drank his Tea in company with his Children, and took that opportunity of inſtructing them in Religion; he went through the Old and New Teſtament with them three times, giving his own Comment upon ſome portion of it, for an hour every morning. When this was over, he retired to his Study, where he ſeldom ſpent leſs than ſix, often more than eight Hours in a day. The reſt of his time was taken up with buſineſs, excerciſe and neceſſary Reſt, or beſtowed on friendly Viſits and chearful Meals. As he kept an open Table, in which there was Plenty without Luxury, ſo no Man was more pleaſed with innocent Mirth there, no Man encouraged it more, or had

a

a larger Fund of Entertainment to contribute towards it. His Equipage, like his Table, was decent and plain; and all his expences denoted a temper generous, but not profuse. The Episcopal Palace, when he came to *Salisbury*, was thought one of the worst; and when he died, was one of the best in *England*.

An affectionate Husband.

The Character I have given his Wives, will scarce make it an Addition to his, that he was a most affectionate Husband. His tender care of the first, during a Course of Sickness, that lasted for many Years; and his fond love to the other two, and the deep Concern he express'd for their loss, were no more than their just due, from one of his Humanity, Gratitude and Discernment.

His Care of his Children's Education.

His Love to his Children, perhaps accompanied with too much indulgence, was not exerted in laying up for them a hoard of Wealth, out of the Revenues of the Church, but in giving them a noble Education; though the charge of it was wholly maintained out of his private Fortune. At seven Years old, he entered his Sons into *Latin*, giving each of them a distinct Tutor, who had a Salary of Forty Pounds a-year, which was never lessen'd on account of any Prebend the Bishop gave him. After five or six Years had perfected his Sons in the Learned Languages, he sent them to the *University*; the Eldest, a Gentleman Commoner to *Trinity College* in *Cambridge*, the other

ther Two, Commoners to *Merton College* in *Oxford*; where, beſides the College Tutor, they had a private one, to aſſiſt them in their learning, and to overlook their behaviour. In the Year 1706, he ſent them abroad for two Years to finiſh their Studies at *Leyden*; from whence two of them took a Tour through *Germany*, *Switzerland* and *Italy*. The Eldeſt and Youngeſt by their own choice, were bred to the Law, and the ſecond to Divinity.

His Firmneſs in his Friendſhips.

In his Friendſhips, our Author was warm, open-hearted and conſtant: From thoſe I have taken the liberty to mention, the Reader will perceive, that they were formed upon the moſt prudent choice, and I cannot find an inſtance of any one Friend he ever loſt, but by death. It is a common, perhaps a juſt Obſervation, That a hearty Friend is apt to be as hearty an Enemy; yet this rule did not hold in our Author. For though his Station, his Principles, but above all his ſtedfaſt adherence to the *Hanover Succeſſion*, raiſed him many Enemies; yet he no ſooner had it in his power, to have taken ſevere revenges on them, than he endeavoured, by the kindeſt good offices, to repay all their injuries, and overcome them, by returning good for evil. I have already given ſome inſtances of this nature here, and many more will occur to the Reader in the Hiſtory.

The Biſhop was a kind and bountiful Maſter to his Servants, whom he never chan-

changed, but with regret and through neceſſity: Friendly and obliging to all in employment under him, and peculiarly happy in the choice of them; eſpecially in that of the Steward to the Biſhoprick and his Courts, *William Waſtefield*, Eſq; (a Gentleman of a plentiful Fortune, at the time of his accepting this Poſt) and in that of his Domeſtick Steward Mr. *Mackney*. Theſe were both Men of approved worth and integrity, firmly attach'd to his intereſts, and were treated by him, as they well deſerved, with Friendſhip and confidence. To them, I muſt appeal, for the Truth of many facts here related, particularly thoſe concerning his Labours in his Dioceſe; from them I likewiſe had an account of his extenſive Charities.

His Conduct to thoſe in Employment under him.

This was indeed a principal Article of his expence, impoſſible now to fix as to all the particulars; our Author being as ſecret, as he was liberal, in thoſe Charities, which he diſtributed with his own hands: Yet the greateſt part of them could not be hid from the Perſons, who were entruſted with the management of his Affairs. His Gifts, for the augmentation of ſmall Livings, of an Hundred Pounds at a time; his conſtant Penſions to poor Clergymen, to their Widows, to Students for their Education at the Univerſities, and to induſtrious Families, that were ſtruggling with the World; the frequent ſums given by him, towards the repairs or building of Churches and Vica-

His Charities.

rage-Houſes; his liberal contribution, to all publick Collections, to the ſupport of Charity-Scools (one of which for Fifty Children at *Salisbury* was wholly maintained by him,) and the many Apprentices, at different times put out to Trades at his charge, were Charities that could not be wholly concealed. Nor were his Alms confined to one Nation, Sect or Party; Want and merit in the object were the only meaſures of his liberality. Thus when Mr. *Martin* (Miniſter of *Compton Chamberlein*) for refuſing to take the Oaths to the Government, ſoon after the Revolution, had forfeited his Prebend in the Church of *Sarum*; the Biſhop, out of his own Income, paid him the yearly value of it, during his life. His uſual allowance for Charity was Five Hundred pounds a-year, which he often exceeded; particularly in the two years, that he was Preceptor to the Duke of *Glouceſter*, in which time this Article amounted to One and Twenty Hundred Pounds. In a word, no object of Chriſtian compaſſion ever came within his knowledge, without receiving a proportionable relief. He looked upon himſelf, with regard to his Epiſcopal Revenue, as a meer Truſtee for the Church, bound to expend the whole, in the maintenance of a decent figure ſuitable to his Station, in Hoſpitality, and in Acts of Charity. And he had ſo faithfully ballanced this Account, that at his death no more of the income of his Biſhop-

rick

rick remained to his Family †, than what was barely ſufficient for the payment of his Debts.

His care of the Revenue of the See.

But if he was thus liberal of his own purſe, he was not leſs ſtrict in preſerving the Revenues of his See, for the benefit of his Succeſſors; of which this remarkable inſtance may ſuffice *. One of his Predeceſſors had converted a large Eſtate at *Monckton Farley*, held of the Biſhop, from a Leaſe of One and Twenty Years, into an Eſtate for three Lives, and had received a valuable conſideration for ſo doing. Our Author reſolved, if poſſible, to reſtore it to the former Tenure, as being much more advantageous to the See: when therefore one of the Lives fell, he refuſed to renew; and when, the other two Lives being very unhealthy, Sir *John Talbot* offered him a Thouſand Pounds for the Renewal of that one Life, and the change of the other two, he ſtill perſiſted in his refuſal: Till at length the Tenant, apprehending the whole Eſtate would have fallen in, agreed to accept of a Leaſe for One and Twenty years, for which the Biſhop would take no more than Four Hundred Pounds Fine to himſelf; but made

† This Mr. *Mackney* his Steward aſſured me appeared in his Accounts.

* This I had from the Miniſter of *Monckton-Farley*, and many others at the time, and it was confirmed to me ſince by Mr. *Waſteſield* and M. *Mackney*.

made it part of his Agreement, that the Tenant ſhould pay Ten Pounds yearly Rent, to the Miniſter of the Pariſh, as a perpetual augmentation to that poor Living, beſides the uſual Reſerved Rent to the See.

His Death. In *March* $17\frac{14}{15}$, being the Seventy-ſecond year of his age, our Author was taken ill of a violent Cold, which ſoon turned to a pleuritick Fever; he was attended in it, by his worthy Friend and Relation Dr. *Cheyne*, who treated him with the utmoſt care and skill: But finding the Diſtemper grew to a height, which ſeemed to baffle all Remedies, he called for the aſſiſtance of Sir *Hans Sloane* and Dr. *Mead*, who quickly found his caſe was deſperate. His Character was too well known, to induce any one to conceal from him the danger his Life was in. He bore the notice of it, with that calm reſignation to providence, which had always ſupported him under the ſevereſt trials. As he preſerved his ſenſes to the laſt, ſo he employed the precious remnant of life, in continual acts of Devotion, and in giving the beſt Advice to his Family; of whom he took leave, in a manner, that ſhewed the utmoſt tenderneſs, accompanied with the firmeſt Conſtancy of mind. And whilſt he was ſo little ſenſible of the Terrors of Death, as to embrace its approach with joy; he could not but expreſs a Concern, for the Grief he ſaw it cauſed in others. He died on the Seventeenth day of that Month. It

It would be a preſumption in me to attempt the drawing his Character, when it has been done by ſo elegant a hand, as that of the late Marquiſs of *Halifax*: As this beautiful Piece, I believe, has never been made publick, the Reader will pardon my inſerting it here.

His Character, by the Marquiſs of *Halifax*.

„ Dr. *Burnet* * is like all Men, who are „ above the ordinary level, ſeldom ſpoke „ of in a Mean, he muſt either be railed „ at or admired. He has a ſwiftneſs of „ Imagination, that no other Man comes „ up to; and as our Nature hardly allows „ us to have enough of any thing, without „ having too much, he cannot at all times „ ſo hold in his thoughts, but that at ſome „ time they may run away with him; as „ it is hard for a Veſſel, that is brim-full, „ when in motion, not to run over; and „ therefore the Variety of matter, that he „ ever carries about him, may throw out „ more, than an unkind Critick would allow of. His firſt Thoughts may ſometimes require more digeſtion, not from „ a defect in his Judgment, but from the „ Abundance of his Fancy, which furniſhes too faſt for him. His Friends love „ him

* The Copy from which this is printed, was taken from one given to the Biſhop, in the Marquiſs of *Halifax*'s own hand-writing, which was in the Editor's hands, but is at preſent miſlaid.

„ him too well, to ſee ſmall faults; or if
„ they do, think that his greater talents
„ give him a Privilege of ſtraying from
„ the ſtrict rules of caution, and exempt
„ him from the ordinary rules of cenſure.
„ He produces ſo faſt, that what is well
„ in his Writings calls for admiration, and
„ what is incorrect deſerves an excuſe; he
„ may in ſome things require grains of al-
„ lowance, which thoſe only can deny
„ him, who are unknown or unjuſt to
„ him. He is not quicker in diſcerning
„ other Men's Faults, than he is in for-
„ giving them; ſo ready, or rather glad to
„ acknowledge his own, that from ble-
„ miſhes they become ornaments. All the
„ repeated provocations of his indecent
„ Adverſaries, have had no other effect,
„ than the ſetting his Good-nature in ſo
„ much a better light; ſince his Anger ne-
„ ver yet went farther than to pity them.
„ That heat, which in moſt other Men
„ raiſes Sharpneſs and Satire, in him glows
„ into Warmth for his Friends, and Com-
„ paſſion for thoſe in Want and Miſery.
„ As dull Men have quick eyes, in diſcer-
„ ning the ſmaller faults of thoſe, that
„ Nature has made ſuperior to them, they
„ do not miſs one blot he makes; and being
„ beholden only to their barrenneſs for
„ their diſcretion, they fall upon the Er-
„ rors, which ariſe out of his Abundance;
„ and by a miſtake, into which their malice
„ betrays them, they think that by finding

„ a mote in his eye, they hide the Beams
„ that are in their own. His quickneſs
„ makes writing ſo eaſy a thing to him,
„ that his Spirits are neither waſted nor
„ ſoured by it: The ſoil is not forced,
„ every thing grows, and brings forth with-
„ out pangs; which diſtinguiſhes as much
„ what he does, from that which ſmells
„ of the lamp, as a good Palate will diſcern
„ between fruit, which comes from a rich
„ mould, and that which taſtes of the un-
„ cleanly pains, that have been beſtowed
„ upon it. He makes many Enemies, by
„ ſetting an ill-natured example of living,
„ which they are not inclined to follow.
„ His indifference for Preferment, his con-
„ tempt not only of Splendour, but of all
„ unneceſſary plenty, his degrading himſelf
„ into the loweſt and moſt painful Duties
„ of his Calling, are ſuch unprelatical
„ qualities, that let him be never ſo ortho-
„ dox in other things, in theſe he muſt
„ be a Diſſenter. Virtues of ſuch a ſtamp
„ are ſo many Hereſies, in the opinion of
„ thoſe Divines, who have ſoftened the
„ Primitive Injunctions, ſo as to make them
„ ſuit better with the preſent frailty of
„ Mankind. No wonder then, if they are
„ angry, ſince it is in their own defence,
„ or that from a Principle of ſelf-preſerva-
„ tion they ſhould endeavour to ſuppreſs
„ a Man, whoſe Parts are a ſhame, and
„ whoſe Life is a Scandal to them."

A LIST of Bishop BURNET's Works.

A Dialogue between a Conformist and Non-Conformist. - - - - - 1669

A Vindication of the Constitution of the Church and State of *Scotland*. 1672

The Mystery of Iniquity unveiled. 1673

An Account given by *T. Ken* a Jesuit of the Truth of Religion examined. 1674

Memoirs of the Dukes of *Hamilton*, *in folio*. - - - - - - - - - 1676

An Account of a Conference with *Coleman*, *&c.* - - - - - - - - 1676

The History of the Reformation, In three Volumes in *folio*. - - 1679

First Volume. - - - - - - - -

Second Volume. - - - - - - - - 1681

Third Volume. - - - - - - - - 1715

The Abridgement of the History of the Reformation. - - - - - - 1682

An Account of the Earl of *Rochester*'s Death. - - - - - - - - - - 1681

The Life of Sir *Matthew Hale*. 1682

The Method of Conversion by the Clergy of *France*, examined. - - 1682

The History of the *Regale*. - - - 1682

The

The Tranſlation of Sir *Thomas More*'s *Utopia*. - - - - - - - - - - - 1683

The Life of Biſhop *Bedell*. - - - - 1685

The Tranſlation of *Lactantius*'s Deaths of the Perſecutors. - - - - - - 1687

Letters concerning Dr. *Burnet*'s Travels. 1687

The Paſtoral Care. - - - - - - - - 1692

Four Diſcourſes to his Clergy. - - - 1694

Eſſay on the Character of Queen *Mary*. 1695

Vindication of Archbiſhop *Tillotſon*. - 1696

Expoſition of the Thirty-Nine Articles of the Church of *England*. - - - 1700

A Collection of Sermons and Pamphlets (in three Volumes in *Quarto*) - - - - - - - from 1678 to 1706

The Church Catechiſm explained. 1710

Sermons preached on ſeveral occaſions. 1713

The Hiſtory of his own Time, a Poſthumous Work. Two Volumes in *Folio*. - - - - - - - - - -

Firſt Volume 1724

Second Volume 1734